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IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Volume II] JULY, 1912 [Number 4

ORGANIZATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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CONTENTS

I SOCIAL SURVEYS

	PAGE
THE SPREAD OF THE SURVEY IDEA	I
<i>Paul U. Kellogg</i>	
A SOCIAL SURVEY OF A TYPICAL AMERICAN CITY	18
<i>Shelby M. Harrison</i>	
A SANITARY AND HEALTH SURVEY	32
<i>George T. Palmer</i>	
THE RELATION OF A NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY TO SOCIAL NEEDS	51
<i>Miss Pauline Goldmark</i>	
STATISTICAL METHODS IN SURVEY WORK	56
<i>Robert Emmet Chaddock</i>	
THE SCOPE AND VALUE OF THE LOCAL SURVEYS OF THE MEN AND RELIGION MOVEMENT	63
<i>Orrin G. Cocks</i>	

II NATIONAL SOCIAL NEEDS

A FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS— WHY IT IS NEEDED	71
<i>John Bates Clark</i>	
LABOR LEGISLATION A NATIONAL SOCIAL NEED	75
<i>Henry Rogers Seager</i>	
NEXT STEPS IN THE CHILD-LABOR CAMPAIGN	80
<i>Owen R. Lovejoy</i>	
BUDGETARY PROVISION FOR SOCIAL NEEDS	86
<i>William H. Allen</i>	
AN INTERPRETATION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE.	92
<i>Miss Alice P. Barrows</i>	
LABOR OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN TENEMENTS	114
<i>Mrs. Florence Kelley</i>	
TWO NATIONAL SOCIAL NEEDS	116
<i>Washington Gladden</i>	
RECREATION AND YOUTH	118
<i>Luther H. Gulick</i>	
REGULATION OF PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS	123
<i>Mrs. Belle Lindner Israels</i>	
COMMERCIALIZED VICE	127
<i>George F. Kneeland</i>	
THE PROBLEM OF WAYWARD GIRLS AND WOMEN DE- LINQUENTS	130
<i>Miss Maude E. Miner</i>	

	PAGE
THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN <i>C. C. Carstens</i>	139
THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN <i>Hastings H. Hart</i>	146
THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS. <i>W. O. Stillman</i>	150
PRISON LABOR <i>E. Stagg Whitin</i>	159
THE EXTENSION OF ORGANIZED CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES <i>Francis H. McLean</i>	164
THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA <i>Charles S. Macfarland</i>	174
III GREATER NEW YORK'S SOCIAL NEEDS	
CITY-PLANNING IN NEW YORK CITY <i>George B. Ford</i>	180
HOUSING NEEDS <i>Lawrence Veiller</i>	188
THE PROTECTION OF FACTORY WORKERS <i>George M. Price</i>	191
THE EDUCATION OF MOTHERS AND THE SAVING OF BABIES <i>Philip Van Ingen</i>	195
THE PROTECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS <i>Kate Holladay Claghorn</i>	199
CHARITABLE RELIEF <i>W. Frank Persons</i>	207
SOCIAL WORK OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS <i>John Martin</i>	211
COÖPERATION OF THE CHURCHES IN HOUSING REFORM. <i>James Jenkins, Jr.</i>	215
IV RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL WORK	
ADDRESSES AT THE DINNER OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	
Monsignor Joseph F. Mooney	217
Rt. Rev. E. R. Hendrix	219
Rabbi E. G. Hirsch	220
Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell	223
Professor E. T. Devine.	226
Mr. John R. Mott.	228
PROCEEDINGS OF SPRING MEETING	234

THE SPREAD OF THE SURVEY IDEA¹

PAUL U. KELLOGG

Director of the Pittsburgh Survey, 1907-09

IN most of our social movements, we are under the necessity of starting something going. We must stir up interest as the first step. The survey movement, if we can call it that, does not seem to be handicapped in this way. There is more spontaneous outcropping of the survey idea the country round than as yet we have any sufficient organization or body of trained workers to deal with. Close on the heels of Pittsburgh came Buffalo. The pioneer work in the steel district was instigated by Charities Publication Committee and was carried out in coöperation with militant Pittsburghers, under grants from the Russell Sage Foundation. The study of the Polish section of Buffalo was the first undertaking of the sort instigated and financed by the city surveyed. Then we had that interesting state-wide tour of Kentucky by Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, which was a quick sizing up of conditions in a group of smaller cities under the State Board of Health and the State Federation of Women's Clubs. We know of the series of community studies carried out by Mr. Aronovici in Rhode Island, and by Mr. St. John and Mr. Stelzle in Newark, Sag Harbor and elsewhere; the studies of the Huntington Presbytery in seven counties in central Pennsylvania; the work of the Presbyterian Board in its rural surveys in Illinois, Missouri and Pennsylvania; and the scores of neighborhoods, mill and mining towns which the Federal Immigration Commission caught up in their schedules. Last summer the Associated Charities of Syracuse, the Chamber of Commerce, the Central Trades Assembly and the Ministerial Association joined forces in the stock-taking of a single city which is described (p. 8) by Mr. Harrison; while the findings of the Lowell survey are just out in book form. Booth's *London*, Rowntree's *York*, the *Hull-House Books and Papers*, the

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912

South End House Studies, Mr. Kirk's *Providence*, Dr. Roberts' *Anthracite Coal Communities*, the Washington number of *Charities and The Commons* are instances, all of them, of social investigations which have embodied many of the elements we find in the survey idea, but which are not identified with the more or less crystallized movement which to-day engages our attention. For I have before me four closely typewritten sheets, thoroughly covered with the names of cities and organizations which are either embarked on surveys or are considering surveys, or would like to know more about them. The names of Minnesota, Missouri, Texas and Kansas towns show the spread of the idea no less than those of the four chief cities of the British Northwest. One inquiry comes from India.

Just at this juncture, the more immediate aspect of the movement presents itself in the fact that in nearly every city in which the Men and Religion Forward teams have set forth a social program, one of the planks in that program has been to recommend a social survey. So we are faced with the question: What is a survey, and how shall the residents of the average city go about one, with some prospect that they will be doing a craftsman's job of it? We know in a general way that a survey is something different from the ordinary operations of a municipal league or a charitable society or a settlement—different even from their campaigns for special reforms. We know also that it is different from newspaper work, or a civic exhibit, or an official report or scientific research as such; although we may have an inkling that it partakes of all of these things, in one way or another. What then? What elements distinguish the survey? The papers by Mr. Harrison, Miss Goldmark and Dr. Palmer give concrete answers and give them with a precision and taking quality which can scarcely be bettered by any generalizations. They tell, however, of three fairly well-defined types of survey; and it will help in arriving at a working conception of the survey idea, to run over some of the elements common to all.

And first, for purposes of comparison, let me set down the elements, five in number, which we felt at the close of the Pittsburgh Survey made that a distinctive enterprise. These methods were :

1. To bring a group of experts together to coöperate with local leaders in gauging the social needs of one city.
2. To study these needs in relation to each other, to the whole area of the city, and to the civic responsibilities of democracy.
3. To consider at the same time both civic and industrial conditions, and to consider them for the most part in their bearings upon the wage-earning population.
4. To reduce conditions to terms of household experience and human life.
5. To devise graphic methods for making these findings challenging, clear and unmistakable.

If I were recasting this formula to-day, I do not know that I should want to change it materially. But it will perhaps give a better approach to the survey movement to consider not what sets it off from other undertakings, but what it draws upon them for.

First of all, the survey takes its unit of work from the surveyor. It has to do with a subject matter, to be sure, but that subject matter is subordinated to the idea of a definite geographical area. It is quite possible to carry on a study of tuberculosis, for example, as a piece of physiological research, or as a piece of sociological research, wholly apart from where it occurs. But just as a geological survey is not geology in general, but the geology of a given mountain range or water shed, so, even when a special subject matter is under study, the sociological survey adds an element of locality, of neighborhood or city, state or region, to what would otherwise pass under the general term of an investigation.

And when the subject matter is not specialized, but concerns the more intangible "needs" of a community, the survey becomes necessarily different things in different localities. It cannot be thought out at a far-away desk. It is responsive to local conditions; in a worn-out country district, suffering from what Professor Ross calls "folk-depletion," its content has little in common with that of a survey in a textile center, tense with human activity, and dominated by its terms of work.

In the second place, the survey takes from the physician his art of applying to the problems at hand standards and experi-

ence worked out elsewhere. To illustrate, if your pure scientist were studying the housing situation in a given town, he would start out perhaps without any hypotheses, tabulate every salient fact as to every house, cast up long columns of figures, and make careful deductions, which might and might not be worth the paper they were written on. Your housing reformer and your surveyor ought to know at the start what good ventilation is, and what cellar dwellings are. These things have been studied elsewhere, just as the medical profession has been studying hearts and lungs until they know the signals which tell whether a man's organs are working right or not, and what to look for in making a diagnosis.

In the third place, the survey takes from the engineer his working conception of the structural relation of things. There is a building element in surveys. When we look at a house, we know that carpenters have had a good deal to do with it, and it is possible to investigate just what the carpenters have done; also the bricklayers, the steam-fitters and the rest of the building trades. But your engineer, like your general contractor and architect, has to do with the work of each of these crafts in its relation to the work of every other. So it is with a survey, whether it deals with the major elements entering into a given community which has structural parts of a given master problem such as Dr. Palmer describes in his survey of the sanitary conditions in Springfield. Only recently I received a letter from a man engaged in making a general social survey of a manufacturing town—a so-called survey. He did not think that it was truly a survey, nor did I, because out of the scope of that investigation had been left all of the labor conditions in the mills. The local committee had been fearful of raising opposition in forceful quarters. Yet these labor conditions were basic in the town's life; on them, for better or worse, hung much of the community welfare; and by ignoring them, the committee could deal with partial solutions only. It was as if a diagnostician in making his examination had left a patient's stomach out of consideration because the patient was a dyspeptic and irritable. They had violated the structural integrity of their survey.

In the fourth place, the survey takes from the charity-organization movement its case-work method of bringing problems down to human terms. Death rates exemplify human units in their barest essentials; but I have in mind a more developed unit. Let me illustrate from the Pittsburgh Survey in the pains-taking figures we gathered of the household cost of sickness—lost wages, doctor's bills, medicines, ice, hospitals, funerals, the aftermath of an epidemic in lowered vitality and lowered earnings, household by household—not in sweeping generalizations but in what Mr. Woods called "piled-up actualities." If I were to set one touchstone, more than another, to differentiate the true survey from social prospecting, it would be this case-work method. In employing it the surveyor, because of lack of means and time, must often deal with samples rather than with the whole population coming within the scope of his study. These samples may be groups of school children; or the people who die in a certain year; or those who live in a certain ward. The method is one, of course, which is scientifically justifiable only so long as those who employ it can defend their choice of the sample chosen, and show where it does and does not represent the entire group.

Under this head it is to be noted that the survey is in a field friendly to what we have come to call municipal research. The latter is indebted for its methods of unit-costs and efficiency to the accountants. These methods may be applied to city budgets and city departments as an integral part of a social survey, the distinction between the two movements in practise being perhaps that the one is focused primarily on governmental operations; the other on phenomena imbedded in the common life of the people.

In the fifth place, the survey takes from the journalist the idea of graphic portrayal, which begins with such familiar tools of the surveyor as maps and charts and diagrams, and reaches far through a scale in which photographs and enlargements, drawings, casts and three-dimension exhibits exploit all that the psychologists have to tell us of the advantages which the eye holds over the ear as a means for communication. With these the survey links a sturdy effort to make its findings have less in

common with the boredom of official reports than with the more engaging qualities of newspaper "copy"—especially that simplicity of structure, tangible framework, and readability which American magazine men have developed as their technique in writing for a democracy. This is not a counsel, bear in mind, of flimsy sensationalism; although those who have matters to conceal seek to confuse the two. A startling article patched up from a few glints of fact is a very different proposition from a crystal set in a matrix of tested information.

Underlying this factor of graphic portrayal is the factor of truth; truth plus publicity. It is often possible to work out large and definite reforms internally, by getting a group of forceful men around a table and convincing them that so and so is the right thing to do. This is, I take it, a legitimate method of philanthropic work and of social reform. But it is not the method of a survey. The survey's method is one of publicity; it is another and separate implement for social advance, and its usefulness should not be negatived by a failure to hold to its distinctive function. The philosophy of the survey is to set forth before the community all the facts that bear on a problem, and to rely upon the common understanding, the common forethought, the common purpose of all the people as the first great resource to be drawn upon in working that problem out. Thus conceived, the survey becomes a distinctive and powerful implement of democracy.

With these five working principles in mind, how can the survey idea be applied to the average community, how and on what scale should its working scheme be launched? Here there is already some experience upon which to draw. At one extreme we have a superficial skimming of facts—what we call in the Middle West a *lick-and-a-promise*. Perhaps it is limited to passing round and filling out schedules devised to fit any city—such as were used in many places in advance of the Men and Religion campaign week. These were not without value in throwing some facts of community life into relief and in showing where released energies might at once be applied; but the team leaders very properly did not call them surveys, making them rather a basis for recommending the larger work.

They bear about the same relation to a survey that the blanks which a mail-order tailoring establishment sends out for self-measurement bear to a thorough-going physical examination.

At the other end of the scale we have the sort of a survey which the Pittsburg Survey, if we regard it as an experiment, demonstrated can with staff and resources some day be made in one of our first-class cities. The Pittsburgh Survey made a quick diagnosis of perhaps twenty phases of life and labor in the steel district on the basis of standards worked out elsewhere; it brought these diagnoses together and studied something of the structural relation of the problems set forth; but it sank shafts of definite, consistent, active investigation in but five or six fields and even there rigorous limitations had to be set to the scope of the work. For example, we studied, case by case, 500 families to see how they actually made shift when the bread-winner was killed at his day's work. The super-survey would not only gauge the chief factors entering into a community, gauge also their fabrication into its general working scheme; but would study the human bearings of every factor, as searchingly as we studied the economic reaction of these industrial accidents.

Not a few of the elements in such a survey will ultimately be carried out as part of the routine work of our governmental, institutional and industrial organizations. This was illustrated in the recommendation made by a stockholders' committee at the recent meeting of the United States Steel Corporation. The work which the Pittsburgh Survey put into gathering elementary facts as to hours, wages and other labor conditions in the Pittsburgh district exhausted a very considerable share of our funds and energy. This stockholders' committee held that in the same way that their corporation had taken the lead in publishing extensive reports on its financial operations and output, it should be its policy in the future to lay before stockholders and public the general facts as to labor conditions in their mills. That, it seemed to me, was well-nigh revolutionary. Similarly many of our city and state departments—health, labor, finance and education—are putting out more and more as part of their legitimate routine the salient facts upon which public opinion can formulate working judgments.

If this were done generally, the survey, to my mind, would still be an opportune instrument for social advance;—on its civic side, in enabling us to see whether or not there are great gaps in the frontage with which a community faces the future, and on its scientific side, in measuring the human reaction of various institutions, agencies and measures, which are carried forward in the name of progress and which should be tested and checked up from time to time.

But what we can discuss most profitably here is the sort of undertaking which as things stand to-day a community, ranging anywhere from ten thousand to half a million, can take up,—neither a skimping survey that does not get beneath the surface, nor the comprehensive interlocking survey just outlined which must needs require a large staff and resources. What are we to recommend when a group of progressive people in such a community come forward and say they want to start a survey—a group with only general notions as to the things most seriously in need of inquiry in their locality, and with slender funds which may grow only as the undertaking shows its usefulness? Two lines of action seem most promising.

The first of these is to recommend that they secure a man of all-around experience in social work to come to their community for a quick sizing up of things—a report which will enable them to see where the land lies—and either base a general social survey upon this report, or follow up intensively one or more of the principal “leads” disclosed.

The second possible line of action is to start out with some unit less than the general social problem of their city, with the idea that work less spread-out and more exact will in the long run lead farther. There are several ways in which this can be done. One method is to take a given neighborhood, in the way that the Buffalo survey took its Polish district. This method has the advantage of focusing attention on a manageable area, where definite results (like the Buffalo playgrounds and evening schools for immigrants) can be reached while the survey is in process. It has the disadvantage that it may tend to confirm the impressions of squalor already held by polite residents of a city as to some particular neighborhood, without forcing in

upon them the fact that a community is like a human being and none of its members can be sick without being a drag on the whole; without rousing the whole city to action, or even, as in Buffalo, leading up to a general city survey. A modification of this method was discussed in New Haven—the suggestion being to take a belt running through the town, so as to be representative of good and bad conditions alike, the well-to-do, the middling-to-do, and the poor. This plan has imaginative values, a practical obstacle perhaps being the difficulty in fitting existing sources of statistics to such a philanthropic gerrymander. Another method is to take a block and study its people intensively in the matter of their social needs and the resources of the city with respect to them, in much the same way as (from the standpoint of racial composition and social mind) Dr. Jones and Prof. Woolston have studied given New York city blocks. Such a method would unquestionably supply an exceptional group of citizens with rare insight as to the actual operations and values of much of our social work. With this insight they could reach judgments and execute reforms, but the plan would scarcely usher in that self-consciousness which comes when a whole community sees itself in the large, and which, to my mind, gives the community survey its exceptional dynamic force.

In contrast to these methods, which consider fairly small areas in their relation to a wide range of social needs, another partial method is to take some one social problem and study it in its bearings on the entire community—such a problem as recreation. This would cover not only a study of playgrounds and play opportunities, but an examination of the city play bill (nickelodeons, skating rinks, cheap shows, dance halls) as was made by the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, to see how much fun was costing the people, how they could spend less and get more, and how far commercialized amusements should be supervised. It would cover the larger uses of school houses, substitutes for saloons, the utilization of outdoors, and the natural resources of wood and valley back from a city; the extent of leisure and the social effects of its compression through over-work and Sunday labor; the money surplus for recreation in household budgets; and so on.

While local conditions, the agencies interested, the public temper and the money available are considerations which must be duly reckoned with, my feeling is that the first line of approach described is the one which will serve most cities best; —that is, the quick sizing-up process to see how the land lies and to plant what the civil engineers call "bench marks" at points of vantage. For this work can be done on a scale to fit any town's pocket-book, it embodies in a rudimentary way the elements which we have seen are the essential methods of a survey, and it gives perspective. The scientific farmer who has his soils examined in taking up new land, the business man who is used to inventories as a basis of planning for the year ahead, the physician who is called on less frequently to doctor fevers and set bones than to overhaul patients who are "all run down," will not need to have the value of such a piece of preliminary stock-taking argued out with them. A town with ten thousand people can get a man with what you might call a general practitioner's equipment in social work to spend half a week there with fair prospect that his report will be something on which they can build. Superficial though it would frankly be, it should bring the more easily recognizable needs and opportunities in the town's life to the test of standards worked out elsewhere—which, as we have seen, is one of the first and easiest tasks of a survey. It could scarcely fail to show how health hangs on civic enterprise and in kindred ways make average citizens see that things which they may have regarded as unrelated are bound up in each other. It would correspondingly show these things in proportion. The sky-scraping pride with which a growing town points to an atrocious six or ten-story block on its chief corner is not energy any more misapplied than many a philanthropic enterprise, bred to suit city conditions, which the small town swallows hoofs, hide and all. Such a report would gather up, if rightly made, the progressive ideas held by local people who have seen farther ahead than their neighbors; and it would have the force—and that counts for a good deal in a growing community—of being heralded as the judgment of a "city expert," thereby gaining a hearing for things which local prophets may have despaired of. Further, such a report, if it sets a vision of

what the town might be, tugs at the imagination of the people and loosens energies in many directions. The same things hold true for a larger city—the city of twenty-five to fifty thousand which can employ such a preliminary prospector for from a fortnight to six weeks; or the still larger city which can engage for this sizing-up process a man of experience and all-round equipment with two or three assistants, for a six months commission. Its alternative would be to get experts in half a dozen of the major fields of social concern to come on the ground for say a fortnight each, relying upon a local committee to synthesize these special reports into a general scheme of procedure. The Syracuse survey illustrated these two methods somewhat in combination, for Mr. Harrison spent six weeks in his general work, and various national and local bodies were successfully appealed to to carry on the field work along special lines.

Such a preliminary report once in hand, the community small or large is in much more favorable position than at the start to make constructive decisions. It may decide to carry on any one of the inquiries which I enumerated earlier as possible lines of action, only with far larger chance of their being done intelligently and with prospect of results for the whole city. It may do what Rochester is doing—that is, what might be called a consecutive survey, organizing and calling on experts to take up first one phase of social concern and then another. This is the sort of work done by the Pittsburgh Civic Commission. It may focus its efforts on some district, and there sink its inquiries into the structure of the common life. This the Bureau of Social Research under Miss Goldmark has done on a district scale on the upper west side of New York, scrutinizing in a given neighborhood how courts and charitable agencies, the departments of health and education come in contact with the life of the people—how they may be turned from impersonal machines to intimate agencies within reach of the average family. The community may focus its attention, on the other hand, on the coördination of governmental activities and by means of municipal research, budget exhibits and the like, make the public business take on new efficiency and new meaning.

But for cities of from 25,000 to 250,000 population, the

simple and natural and, I believe, most promising result of the preliminary survey, would be a systematic community survey growing out of it, one with sufficient staff, sufficient time and sufficient expenditures to make a thorough-going inventory of the life and labor of the place, to seek out the wastes in its economic and vital resources, to captivate and give constructive content to its evanescent and often sorely exploited enthusiasms, and to lay a sure foundation of information on which to plan and build for ten years ahead.

The scale on which such a permanent survey—and by permanent I of course do not mean a perennial enterprise, but one enduring in the foundation it lays—should be undertaken, would depend on the size and public spirit of the community. But the survey movement has reached a point where we can say with some degree of precision—as I have undertaken to do earlier in this paper—what are the essential methods which should enter into its work, and where we can say, with some degree of conviction, that such a working scheme will have practical and far-reaching results.

Right here, it may be well to interpolate two points as to the civic investment which a community puts into a survey. No town should be balked at launching one, under the impression that it is a contraption suited only to a large city, or one which only a great philanthropic foundation can afford. I have indicated how a small town can make a start at modest expense; and Dr. Palmer describes the wide range of sanitary investigations which he carried out as commissioner of public health of Springfield, Illinois, in coöperation with local people and at almost no extra cost to the city. With a superintendent of schools as far-sighted and resourceful as this health commissioner, a judge who would look at jails, police and legal processes with what the Wisconsin supreme court calls twentieth-century eyes, an engineer with ingenuity and vision, and with other volunteers and officials of like caliber, men with social viewpoint and with some acquaintance with other cities, men giving their leisure and to some extent their working hours to the plan, you would have a local staff for a rounded community survey. They could carry it out as a piece of good citizenship

on a level which would command national attention and respect, and which would set a new gauge for civic patriotism. On the other hand, consider a city with say a cigar-store keeper as health commissioner, without any health reports, and with acrid resistance on the part of the dominant political machine to any probing of its health service. The process of surveying in such a backward city is a very different matter; so also is the cost of bringing onto the ground a sanitarian of Dr. Palmer's breadth of outlook, gained from his work in the state and city public health service; and then keeping him there long enough to get a thorough grasp of the sanitary situation, and to gather data sufficient to carry the town with him.

And here we are close to the fact that while many of the more obvious social conditions can be brought to light by laymen, the reach of social surveying depends on those qualities which we associate with the expert in every profession; knowledge of the why of sanitary technique, for example, and of the how by which other cities have wrought out this reform and that. And townsmen who would think nothing of paying the county engineer a sizable fee to run a line for a fence boundary must be educated up to the point where they will see the economy of investing in trained service in social and civic up-building. Unscientific acquaintance with what other cities are doing may lead only to duplicating their mistakes; untraveled advice may, on the other hand, lead only to finding out slowly and at bitter cost what has elsewhere been demonstrated. Ignorance of the facts that lie concealed in an unresolved mass of local statistics is only less costly, humanly speaking, than the too ready acceptance of notions which hearty but ignorant handling can shake out of the same statistics.

My second point as to the civic investment in a survey is that it pays not only for a city to get at its underlying facts but to get those facts out into the open. There is no older subterfuge than to beat the drums of local pride and charge that the leaders who are overhauling bad conditions are injuring the fair name of a city. This charge finds customary expression in the rumor that manufacturing enterprises will keep away if they learn that the schools are poor, the council is full of graft, or

the water is infected; and that one who advertises these things by rousing the public to reform is the town traitor. Yet the city of the Southwest that, as a gala day approached, put up a high board fence so that you could not see the shacks that at one point lined its principal thoroughfare, may have fooled the distinguished visitor who was driven past, but it could not fool the manufacturer who is looking for a new site; still less—and this is equally important from the standpoint of local interests—could it fool intelligent workmen who are looking for a town in which to bring up their families. I have known of an enterprise that refused to settle in a city because it would not bribe the aldermen for a side track (perhaps the first of a long series of petty hold-ups) and of another that refused to settle where skilled mechanics could not find the sort of living conditions and recreation they were accustomed to. It could not get its men to come along. When such decisions hang in the balance I fancy one factor that counts in Worcester's favor is the fight of its manufacturers against tuberculosis, in Pittsburgh's favor is the great filtration plant with which the city has downed typhoid, in Cleveland's favor is the civic campaigns of its Chamber of Commerce. All these things stand for enterprise. They are upbuilding of the sort which means first of all getting down to bed rock; and that is the sort of investment which a city puts into a survey.

Convinced as I am, however, that a survey is "good business" in the long run from the standpoint of a city's prosperity, it has a broader appeal. It is one of the channels open to the aroused social conscience of our generation. In the governmental field we have two strong movements—one towards greater efficiency; the other towards greater democracy. The first is reflected nationally by the President's Commission on Efficiency and Economy; the second finds expression in the Western insurgent movement which through the initiative, referendum and recall, seeks to bring the legislative "say" back to the people. If we were to personify the first movement, it would be to give it the character of the expert; the second, the character of the average citizen. And in the general trend, we have the expert and the average man coming to

gether: and jointly challenging the frontage which existing institutions, professions and organized forces bear toward the needs of the times.

They challenge the church, the school, the city council, the court, the mill, in the name of the mighty industrial changes which have put new strains on old institutions; in the name of science, which has opened new possibilities and new hopes; and in the name of the common welfare which is striking a fairer balance between property and life.

For many existing conditions we have only ourselves to blame; but in changing them, we have to overcome the resistance of those whose scheme of service to the community has grown up with the old conditions. Dr. Palmer illustrates this in what he says of the milk supply. Let us look at the milkman as a factor in the community life—an institution if you will. In the past we may have officially asked of him a certain grade of butter-fat in his milk, but that is a dairyman's standard, worked out in the cheese and butter trade. We have demanded a collar of cream as a sign of richness—the uninformed milk-drinker's notion of protecting himself against watered milk. But we are only beginning to demand what the dietitians and physicians are showing us is more important than either of these, namely, clean milk—clean milk, rendered more difficult to obtain by the very dirt and congestion of our new urban conditions; rendered vital by the laboratory discoveries of the last twenty years in bacterial diseases; rendered possible by our advances in methods of sterilization; rendered an issue among the people at large, by the demonstrable effect of dirty milk upon the health of thousands of babies—a human test, this last, such as enables the average mother and the expert sanitarian to join forces in a campaign to clean up stables and milk routes, and to put an end to dirty cans and tuberculous cows. I need not show how through all this runs the three-fold challenge in the name of mighty industrial changes, of scientific advance and of the common welfare.

That challenge is one repeated over and over again in the fields of social concern. It does not require a very wide stretch of the imagination to apply the same analysis to the *Titanic*

disaster. Compare the commercial demand for speed and capacity in ocean liners with the commercial demand for butter fat. Compare the blind popular demand for luxuries in cabins with the blind popular demand for a thick collar of cream. Life boats are like clean milk. Safety is a human rather than a commercial standard. Some naval experts have been preaching it for years, but their judgments have fallen on deaf ears. Now the average man at last sees; and (in high rage) he is calling for a change. Those responsible for ocean vessels are charged to make safety keep pace with the great structural changes in the shipping industry; to apply science to human well-being, as well as to speed.

In many of these deep-seated social needs, apparently some great disaster has to overtake us, and smite us, before as a people we are aroused to them, and half-blindly, often wholly unthinking of our own responsibility, demand immediate reform. This is so whether it is a dam which gives way like Austin; or a theatre which burns like the Iroquois; or a blazing schoolhouse full of children like that at Cleveland; or a loft building like the Triangle. Coupled with this very human tendency is another, equally human. For while it takes one of these great disasters to drive the lesson home, we are faced with the fact that the feeling of exasperation and purpose, the "conscience-smittenness" of the community, more often than not fritters away before it accomplishes anything. Thus a year has already elapsed since the lives of 146 working people were snuffed out in the Triangle disaster in New York, and while public indignation has vented itself in mass meetings and safety committees, in investigating commissions and fire bills, there has been no action within the intervening twelve months which would thoroughly prevent the recurrence of such a panic fire and no sure provision which would get the people out, any more than the *Titanic's* meager life-boat equipment was enough to float the two cabins, the crew and the steerage, when the great boat sank. Had a modern shipload of passengers in New York harbor ever gone through the motions of getting into the life boats and away, the safety equipment of our ocean liners would have been put to a human test. That test would have

borne out what the naval experts had been saying, and would have demonstrated it so thrillingly that not only the people who were left behind on deck would have seen their own helplessness, but average citizens everywhere would have been alive to what safety means in ocean travel.

To visualize needs which are not so spectacular but are no less real, is the work of the survey—to bring them to human terms, to put the operations of the government, of social institutions and of industrial establishments to the test of individual lives, to bring the knowledge and inventions of scientists and experts home to the common imagination, and to gain for their proposals the dynamic backing of a convinced democracy.

The survey cannot count upon a catastrophe to point its morals. The public interest it creates comes harder but has better staying qualities. In so far as it must lay a framework for setting forth the wide range of needs and opportunities which fall within its field, so it has inherent the prospect of a more sustained and organic accomplishment.

(491)

A SOCIAL SURVEY OF A TYPICAL AMERICAN CITY¹

SHELBY M. HARRISON

Director of the Syracuse Social Survey

JUST as cities or communities differ, so will city or community surveys be different. Any set method for this kind of inventory-taking, intended for general application, must after all be largely suggestive, leaving wide latitude for shifting the emphasis according as conditions vary from city to city. Not with the thought, therefore, that the recent preliminary social survey of the city of Syracuse, New York, presents an inclusive plan for city surveying nor that it is a sample of what a full-fledged city survey ought to be; but, rather, that it may carry some suggestion for organizing and defining a city survey and be an illustrative instance of what one city did toward securing a program of "next-steps" in its civic and social development, that undertaking is recounted.

About a year ago several citizens of Syracuse, among them Rev. Murray S. Howland and Paul E. Illman, became convinced that the rapid growth of the city in the last decade, with its consequent changes in social relationships, had brought new problems calling for new diagnosis and treatment, and that the time had come for at least a preliminary stock-taking of local conditions affecting the life, health and progress of the city's 150,000 people. This purpose became specific along at least two lines: first, to gather sufficient data on points which seemed to call for immediate action so that definite constructive recommendations could be made; and second, to make a sufficient diagnosis of general conditions so as to determine whether and along what lines a later, more intensive survey should be carried on.

In order to give the enterprise strong and wide local backing, the support of the four large organizations in the city which themselves were federations of other organizations was sought and secured, namely, the Ministerial Association, which includes

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(492)

something over a hundred churches; the Chamber of Commerce, which represents employers and industrial and commercial organizations; the Central Trades Assembly, which represents all the labor unions of the city; and the Associated Charities, which represents to some extent the relief agencies. The Chamber of Commerce subscribed two-fifths of the estimated expenses of the survey, and each of the other three organizations guaranteed one-fifth. Each organization chose three representatives on a central survey committee of twelve, and gave the committee full power to go ahead with the survey. The committee included some of the most influential men in the city. Representing, as it did, forces that are not always in accord in city life, the committee developed into a very remarkable working group—so remarkable, in fact, that people outside the group were unwilling to see it broken up after it had completed the immediate work to which it was committed.

A director from outside the city was secured to carry the social inventory as far as seemed practicable in five weeks; and several sub-committees were appointed to gather general information which would be of use to the investigators—including city and county reports for a number of years back; special reports published by the chamber of commerce, the board of education, the academy of medicine and other organizations; population figures; maps; city ordinances; and so on. The director spent most of his first week in company with some member or members of the central committee, interviewing city officials, business men, labor leaders, clergymen, teachers, social workers, physicians and others familiar with social conditions. The purpose of the interviews was to become saturated with the main facts of the community, especially those which indicated, from many points of view, improvements made in the last ten or fifteen years, and improvements also from many points of view that were thought to be needed in the next few years ahead. With these facts digested the central committee picked out the main lines of inquiry to be followed. They were, in broad terms:

1. Health conservation and sanitation.
2. Housing conditions among unskilled workers.

3. The betterment agencies of the city.
4. Foreign populations.
5. Juvenile delinquency.
6. Civic improvement.
7. Labor conditions.

Certain phases of municipal accounting, public finance and local taxation, would have been included in the survey, but for the fact that one member of the central committee had already set on foot plans for handling such an investigation in another way. This investigation has since been made by experts from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research; and interest in it had undoubtedly been enhanced by the social and civic revival which citizens are free to credit as one of the results of the social survey.

All of these subjects chosen presented phases of such current importance that the committee wished them followed further; yet it was evident that each subject, to be covered adequately, would require the investigator's time for more than the remaining four weeks. A request was therefore made to several state and national organizations, which sooner or later would be conducting investigations of their own in Syracuse, to send their representatives at once. They would thus coöperate with the survey, and on the other hand they would gain for their own work through the strong local backing afforded in the central survey committee. A number of organizations responded immediately, among them the New York Child Labor Committee, the North American Civic League for Immigrants, the National Housing Association, the National Consumers' League and the National Prison Labor Committee. In addition to this outside coöperation a score of Syracuse people volunteered their services as a personal contribution to the survey—among them a young physician, who made the study of the city's vital statistics; a young rabbi, who prepared a statement of playground equipment and needs; the secretary of the associated charities, who took charge of the housing investigation; an official of the city sewerage commission, who prepared a summary of the sewerage situation; the probation officers, who studied juvenile delinquency; a young lawyer, who gathered data on relief work in the

city; students in a sociology class in the university, who aided in the investigation of child labor in the street trades; and others who made maps and charts, arranged exhibits, offered prizes or acted as judges. The liberal coöperation of the newspapers was invaluable.

A work-program indicating data to be gathered on each major subject was worked out by the different investigators and the survey director; and the latter spent the remainder of his time investigating several phases of labor conditions. As already indicated, the reports were not expected to be analyses of many or all sides of the subjects inquired into; they were to take up only those matters which seemed to call for immediate action or which pointed the need for more extended study. The outlines of facts to be looked for, however, covered a range wide enough to allow the different investigators some degree of latitude in deciding, as they got deeper into the fact-gathering, what matters should be given special scrutiny. Several of the work-programs follow:

A. HEALTH AND ITS CONSERVATION

I. Vital statistics

- a. General death rates for 1907-08-09-10-11; and average death rates for five-year periods running back twenty years; infant death rates, same period.
- b. Distribution of deaths by wards, for 1910.
- c. Population by age and sex in each ward, in 1910.
- d. Deaths from the more prevalent diseases for the last ten years, especially contagious and preventable diseases such as typhoid, tuberculosis, diarrhea and enteritis (under one and under five years of age), and pneumonia.
- e. Case rates of the diseases more prevalent locally for the last ten years—especially contagious and preventable diseases, such as diphtheria, typhoid, measles, scarlet fever, tuberculosis.
- f. Births: reporting of; still births; birth rates compared with other cities of similar size and population make-up.

II. Health administration

- a. Effect of administering health work through a subordinate

bureau of the department of public safety, instead of through a department of health; adequacy or inadequacy of health appropriations.

b. Educational work for health; any special needs; opportunities for increasing educational work as shown by work done in other cities.

c. Organized work against venereal diseases; its chief needs; work done by Syracuse Society for Prevention of Social Diseases.

d. Quarantine practise in less serious contagious diseases.

e. Medical inspection of schools; how adequate? In all schools? How financed?

III. Food inspection

a. Meat, fruit, fish.

b. Screening from flies.

c. Milk supply; analysis of bacteriological count from January 1 to July 1, 1911; percentage of producers whose milk was above the maximum bacterial count; method of enforcing the milk rule; any licenses revoked; analysis of cream count; need of better publicity work on milk and cream scoring.

IV. Water supply

a. Source of general supply; water sheds; cost.

b. Surface wells; springs.

V. Sewerage system

a. Houses connected; open privy vaults not connected with sewers.

b. Location of sewer outlets.

VI. Garbage disposal

a. Cost; method.

b. Location of plants.

c. Method of collection of garbage.

B. HOUSING OF THE UNSKILLED WORKERS

I. A close study of six typical districts where the unskilled workers live

a. Apartment buildings: number separate apartments; material; stories; repair; halls; fire escapes; basements.

- b. Family apartments in the buildings (facts relating to individual apartments rather than the whole building of which each apartment is a part): number of rooms; number of families; number of adults, children and boarders; cleanliness; light; ventilation; plumbing.
- c. Water supply: location; number of persons per tap; bath; drainage.
- d. Yards: area; cleanliness; live stock; alley; garbage; rubbish.
- e. Toilets: inside; outside; cleanliness; number using; sewer connection.
- f. Rent.

II. Similar close study of a few old tenement houses

III. Similar study of a few new apartment and tenement houses

To see whether the new ones are conforming to accepted principles of good housing, or whether they are making the same mistakes as those made in the old tenements.

IV. Lodging houses

Number; rooms; beds; air-space per bed; charges for lodging.

V. A census of the number of open privy vaults, by wards, throughout the city

C. FOREIGN POPULATION

I. Statistics of foreign populations

- a. Total number of foreigners; number by nationalities.
- b. Number, by sex and age groups.
- c. Number of families.
- d. Number of immigrants, by nationalities, admitted to New York state during 1909-1910.
- e. Sex and ages of same.
- f. Illiteracy of those 14 years old and over.
- g. Number of immigrants, by nationalities, who arrived in Syracuse during 1909-1910.
- h. Number, by nationalities, in hospitals.
- i. Number in prison.
- j. Number in almshouses; number applying for relief and charity.

II. Neighborhoods

- a. Map showing foreign quarters, by nationalities.

III. Housing and lodging conditions (made in conjunction with general housing study)

- a. Kind of lodging.
- b. Study of a few old tenements in each neighborhood.
- c. Number of persons in each house.
- d. Number of lodgers and families.
- e. Number of persons and beds in each room.
- f. List of lodging houses and number of immigrant lodgers in each place.

IV. Industrial opportunities

- a. Industries employing foreigners.
- b. Number, by nationalities, in each industry.
- c. Methods of obtaining work.
- d. Hours of work, in general.
- e. Days per week.
- f. Any night work.
- g. Industries continuous through year.
- h. Days worked yearly and quarterly.
- i. Estimated average yearly wages for both skilled and unskilled workers.

V. Economic conditions

- a. Amount of money transmitted to different countries during 1909-1910 by post-office money orders; drafts on foreign banks; express orders.
- b. Number of local foreign bankers.
- c. Number of steamship ticket agents.
- d. Any need for postal savings banks?
- e. Number of immigrants that own houses.

VI. Educational opportunities

- a. Number and location of public schools; of evening classes; of private schools.
- b. Number of adults and children, by nationalities, attending evening schools.

VII. Naturalization

- a. Number of applicants for first papers, by nationalities, for the last five years.
- b. Applicants for final papers, by nationalities, for the last five years.
- c. Number of final papers issued.
- d. Final papers denied.
- e. Final papers still pending.
- f. Number of naturalized citizens who voted at last few elections.

VIII. Courts

- a. Number of arrests and convictions, by ages and nationalities.
- b. Juvenile delinquency.
- c. Interpreters in court.
- d. Shyster lawyers.
- e. Any legal aid societies?
- f. Action in accident cases.
- g. Ambulance chasers.

IX. Social agencies for betterment, protection and relief.

- a. Foreign societies.
- b. Labor unions among foreigners.
- c. Civic clubs among foreigners.
- d. Settlements.
- e. Playgrounds accessible to immigrants.
- f. Public baths.
- g. Consuls or consular agents.
- h. Handicap of foreign women.
- i. Notaries public, midwives and doctors, among foreigners.

D. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

I. An analysis of cases of juvenile delinquency, by wards and blocks, throughout the city

Its relation to the congestion of population and the lack of open spaces where children may play.

II. Nature of offenses

- a. Proportion that are offenses against the person; proportion offenses against property.
- b. Locality in which offenses against property predominate over offenses against person, and *vice versa*.
- c. Similarly, by nationalities.
- d. Proportion that are first offenders; proportion repeaters.

III. Individual conditions

- a. Age of largest proportion of offenders of both sexes.
- b. Physical condition—stature and weight; diseased?
- c. Mental condition: proportions bright, dull, defective, fearless, venturesome.

IV. Social environment

- a. Parental condition: proportion with both parents living; proportion fatherless, motherless, orphans, illegitimates.
- b. Condition of home: regular employment; kind of employment.

V. Conclusions

Remedial agencies needed; playgrounds, boys' clubs, library extension?

E. LABOR CONDITIONS, GENERAL**I. Wages of men and women in industry**

- a. Weekly earnings; skilled or unskilled, by trades.
- b. Annual earnings.
- c. Day labor or piece work, by industries.
- d. Increases in pay in last 15 years.
- e. Extra pay for overtime work.
- f. Recent changes in hours per day affecting wages.
- g. "Speeding" tendencies, if any.

II. Hours of labor

- a. Hours per day; Saturday hours.
- b. Days per week—any seven-day labor?
- c. Extra time work.
- d. Day work or night work.

- e. Industry continuous through year. Days worked in year.
- f. How long in the industry.

III. Conditions of labor

- a. Sanitary conditions of plant—ventilation.
- b. Occupational diseases.
- c. Industrial accidents: safety devices; settlements for injury or death.

IV. Organization of labor and capital.

- a. Trade unions.
- b. Union of employers.
- c. Protective agencies: insurance; hospitals; societies; legal aid.
- d. Avenues of expression regarding work conditions.

V. Individual and home conditions

- a. Married; any children; keep boarders; other members of family work; own home?
- b. Support self.
- c. Save any money?
- d. Leisure for reading or recreation.
- e. Sanitary conditions of home surroundings.

VI. Any recent serious labor troubles; strikes, lockouts.

F. CHILD LABOR

I. Thoroughness of inspection

- a. Number of children granted work certificates, by nationalities.
- b. Number found by inspectors.
- c. Number not found.
- d. Number of inspectors.

II. Newsboys

- a. Age classification.
- b. Violators of the law.
- c. Earnings.
- d. Character of school work done by newsboys.
- e. Newsboys in juvenile court.
- f. Newsboys and truant school.

III. Issuance and regulation of working papers

IV. Summer child workers

- a. Number missing more than one week of school.
- b. Average time missed.
- c. Effect on scholarship.

V. Night messenger law

VI. Hours, pay, regulation, among child workers

- a. Bootblacks.
- b. Pin boys in bowling alleys.
- c. Morning paper carriers.
- d. Child workers in home industry.

The outline on betterment agencies laid special emphasis upon the investment in equipment, the cost of relief work, and the social responsibility felt by church, school, university, hospital, Christian associations and settlements; and the outline on civic improvement covered the need of a city plan, directions of the city's growth, recreation needs, park and playground facilities, the elimination of grade crossings and the improvement of water fronts.

As the investigations progressed the mass of data collected began to show cleavages along certain clear-cut lines; and by autumn after the several reports were drafted the central committee was able to put its finger upon what it had reason to believe to be the weak spots in local civic and social conditions.

In order to give the findings of the survey wide local publicity the central committee determined to have a Know-Your-City-Week last November. The week started off with forty ministers preaching sermons, on Sunday morning, on the civic responsibilities of citizenship. On Monday exercises were held in the public schools, the main feature being the reading of prize essays written by the children of the schools on "How to Make Syracuse a Better City." Over 1000 essays were written and the dominant note struck in the essays indicated that the children had caught the point that a better city involves not only greater business prosperity but the betterment of living and work conditions; in other words, that emphasis upon human welfare, whether through better sanitation and public health

regulations, better houses to live in, safer places to work in, or greater opportunities for self-improvement, is of prime importance in city advance. The survey committee regarded the essay contest as one of the best achievements of the whole enterprise. On the other afternoons throughout the week, conferences on concrete local problems were held in one of the chambers of the county court house. In the main, the subjects were closely related to those discussed at the respective evening meetings; and the discussions were led and participated in by representative citizens, upon the shoulders of many of whom the work of carrying out reform measures advocated by the committee would undoubtedly fall.

At the evening mass meetings, which were attended by an average of 500 persons per night, the survey reports were read from the platform; and speakers from out of the city pointed the moral of local findings from the vantage point of a national perspective. One of these meetings, the one which probably involved the greatest outlay of both time and money, was completely taken charge of by the physicians of the local Academy of Medicine. The larger audience reached, of course, was through the medium of the newspapers, which coöperated thoroughly. Several of the reports were reproduced in full by the press. Further publicity for the facts was gained through the exhibit of maps, charts, and diagrams showing graphically the kernel of each report. The exhibit occupied sixty feet of window space of a retail store on one of the most prominent street corners in the city.

With reports in hand the central committee formulated seven resolutions as a preliminary working program for the city, which would not be partisan, sectarian or sectional, but would aim at healthy industrial and social growth. In an eighth resolution the committee sent back to the bodies which created it, and which it jointly represented, a recommendation that they take action to see that the program is entered upon. The resolutions are as follows:

First, that the mayor and common council be urged to establish a city-planning and housing commission to secure a plan for the city's growth and development, and draw up a housing

code such as would meet the needs of the city for some time to come.

Second, that the board of education be petitioned to consider and adopt a far-reaching plan for the education of the foreign population of the city by a larger provision of night schools, by the introduction of civics and industrial courses in night schools and by the extension of vocational training to the grades.

Third, that the police and school departments be petitioned to enforce the child-labor laws relative to the street trades.

Fourth, that the board of health be petitioned to provide:

(a) For the inspection of mercantile establishments and for the enforcement of those provisions relating to child labor, hours of work of women, and sanitary conditions under which such people work.

(b) For the publishing monthly of the milk score of all milk producers whose milk is sold in the city.

(c) For more rigid inspection of tenements.

(d) For the engagement by the city of the services of some sanitarian of national standing to study and report on the needs of the public health of Syracuse, as a basis for planning future health work.

Fifth, that the employers engaged in such industries as require the plant to be in continuous operation be urged to make such adjustments as to assure every laborer one day of rest in seven.

Sixth, that there should be among the betterment agencies of the city a closer coöperation expressed in some system, such as a united charities, a social-service league or an associated charities organized on broader lines than those in existence at present.

Seventh, that the city at large have some organization to study the needs and development of the city and to crystallize the findings of such studies in some yearly program such as this Know-Your-City-Week.

Eighth, that to accomplish this end the central survey committee recommend to the respective bodies represented in the committee the formation of a comprehensive and democratic body to study the problems and promote the adoption of the reforms suggested by the survey.

In the few months since the resolutions were adopted, the central committee has succeeded in getting local organizations of one kind and another to back up nearly all of the resolutions and to carry on a definite campaign for the changes advocated in them. Several of these campaigns have already succeeded and the success of others is believed by the committee to be sure. A few of the results may be enumerated:

The mayor has publicly promised to appoint a city-planning and housing commission. In the meantime a volunteer city-plan commission is at work. A committee of the board of education and a volunteer committee are at work gathering information from all over the country as to effective school work for foreigners. The police are thoroughly enforcing laws regulating the work of newsboys. The bureau of health has of its own accord invited a trained sanitarian to the city to go over its work and to make suggestions, and those who have been watching the milk scores state that they have shown marked improvement this winter over a year ago. A federation of all betterment agencies in the city is being formed with enthusiastic general coöperation. A further survey, by experts from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, as already noted, has been made, and it is planned that other investigations shall be carried on by the new federation. One more or less intangible but nevertheless very real and important result is the awakened interest of citizens in civic and social affairs of the city.

This has been accomplished at a total money outlay amounting to only a little above \$1100—the investigations costing about \$500 and the publicity work about \$600.

A SANITARY AND HEALTH SURVEY¹

GEORGE THOMAS PALMER, M. D.

Springfield, Illinois

ON account of the gratifying results in public health work during the past few years, and on account of the popular interest born of the realization of our ability actually to reduce morbidity and increase the span of life, it is easier to bring about public health reform in an American municipality than to secure any other kind of civic improvement.

Jealous as they are of personal liberty, the people have come to recognize that they must submit to a certain amount of inconvenience and even to scrutiny and investigation of their lives and personal affairs in the interest of the health of the community. The business man who is not in sympathy with many social reforms appreciates the practical utility of sanitary and public health supervision.

We have ceased to question the right of health authorities to extend their operations even far beyond the letter of the law, while opposition to private agencies working for sanitary betterment, even when accompanied by wide publicity of unenviable civic conditions, is usually inconsiderable. The intelligent portion of the community is fully capable of appreciating the benefits to be derived from such activities.

Hence, the sanitary survey may often be employed as an entering wedge in general civic betterment, leading naturally to increased interest in those other agencies for improvement which extend more intimately into the moral and social lives of the people, but all of which are more or less associated with public health work.

It is on this account, in my opinion, that the sanitary survey is the most important phase of general survey work just at this time, when municipalities are but beginning to recognize the value of systematic study of their underlying conditions.

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.
(506)

Further, I am impressed by the fact that an enormous field is opening up in the study of the sanitary and other civic conditions in the smaller cities of the nation. The municipalities ranging from 10,000 to 100,000 in population represent an enormous number of people and present civic problems quite as definite, if not so extensive, as those to be found in any of the larger cities. And yet the civic student may find in almost any of the hundreds of smaller American cities an absolutely virgin field which so far has been shamefully neglected.

I feel that I should have no claim upon your attention this afternoon, that I should not be here to present a plan of survey, except on account of an experience which, it seems to me, should have been looked upon as commonplace enough, but which appears to have been regarded as somewhat unusual.

This experience was the study of the sanitary conditions of a city of from 50,000 to 60,000 population and the attainment of fairly satisfactory results without the expenditure of money. Before offering to you a definite plan of sanitary survey, I feel that it may be worth while to describe that simple investigation, the methods employed and the results attained.

I certainly have no intention here and in the presence of those who have done such brilliant things along those lines, of discussing anything of the theory or principles of survey work. I would suggest, however, that perhaps the very brilliancy of your accomplishment has prevented many municipalities from entering upon such undertakings.

With the Pittsburgh survey as the best known if not the only generally known specimen of its class, many persons have come to look upon the survey as a gigantic, technical and complicated institution, demanding a large amount of expert skill and considerable financial outlay for its accomplishment.

Wherever I have found intelligent city officials and citizens interested in civic betterment, I have found an earnest desire for more thorough knowledge and understanding of existing civic conditions; but a conviction that the survey is entirely beyond the reach of the average municipality.

In fact, at the time we undertook the sanitary study of Springfield, if someone had suggested such a thing as a "sani-

itary survey," I should have replied that we were not in a position financially or otherwise for such an ambitious undertaking.

As it was, we simply started out in Springfield to ascertain certain definite facts, and we had not the faintest idea how far or where our studies would carry us. We knew that the city had a higher typhoid-fever mortality than other cities of like size and similarly situated. We knew that we had houses and tenements which served as centers of infection of tuberculosis and other diseases. We realized that our infant mortality was too high. We started out simply with the purpose of ascertaining the causes of our undue morbidity and mortality that we might be enabled to take intelligent steps to decrease sickness and lower our death rate.

It was not until our work was completed that we realized that we had done anything which could be dignified by the term "sanitary survey." I cite this fact because I feel that there ought to be something done to change the general conception of the term "survey" and because I am convinced that we must reach a clearer definition of the term before many cities will undertake it.

I am also impressed with the belief that when a city sets out to learn definite things about itself and for a definite purpose, the results will be more satisfactory than when an attempt is made merely to apply a plan of study for no better reason than that other cities have done the same thing. That is, the desire for knowledge without the plan will come nearer landing us somewhere than the plan, however perfect, without the underlying intelligent desire for knowledge.

In the vaults of the city hall we recently unearthed several massive volumes, the results of a sanitary survey carried out in 1885 on a plan suggested by Dr. John H. Rauch, then secretary of the Illinois state board of health. The city council appropriated \$1,000 for the purpose and the work was carried out with most minute detail. The net result of this painstaking application of a survey plan consists of these big, clumsy volumes, dusty, moth-eaten and stowed away in a vault. In fact, when our work was done in 1910, no one recalled that a sanitary survey of the city had ever been carried out. This is

merely an example of a city going through the motions and carrying out a plan suggested by others, but without a desire for specific results.

In 1910 we awoke to the fact that Springfield had a typhoid-fever mortality of something over 40 per 100,000 of population. This mortality had been as high as 85 per 100,000 and the last year recorded showed a mortality of 52. That was twice as high as it should have been. Half of our deaths from this disease were apparently unnecessary.

Four million dollars had been expended by the city for water works and sewer system, and the mains extended to all sections of the town. We made repeated analyses of the city water, extending over a long period of time, and found that the public supply was always safe for domestic use. We had to go further to locate the cause of our excessive typhoid-fever mortality. Analyses were made of 150 samples from supposedly good wells. All but three were found to be dangerously polluted. Then the question arose as to the extent to which wells were used in the city and the cause of well pollution. On these points, as is true in practically every other city in the United States where wells are used, reliable information was entirely unobtainable.

There was but one thing left to do and that was to have the four underpaid, untrained but enthusiastic inspectors of the health department visit each of the 9,000 homes spread out over the 1,600 blocks of the city to locate every well and vault and ascertain the general sanitary conditions of all premises. It required two months to cover the city, the work being done in addition to the rather exacting routine duties of the department. The results plainly told the story of our typhoid fever.

The 9,000 homes of the city had 6,000 shallow wells, the pollution of which was guaranteed by 7,000 privy vaults. There were 6,000 polluted wells in the city, and the water mains and sewers were convenient to 5,000 of the premises that maintained them. That is, the use of 5,000 of the 6,000 polluted wells in the city was entirely unnecessary. From a sanitary standpoint the city's expenditure of \$4,000,000 was wasted.

I should make this statement about my home town with

reluctance were it not that Mr. Hiram Messenger has advised me, after studying the typhoid conditions of over thirty cities of from 40,000 to 100,000 people, that Springfield is now the only one in which he could obtain accurate data as to wells and well pollution.

The results of our investigation were not bound in red morocco and filed away to decay, nor were they hopelessly buried in dreary and unread reports. We prepared a large map of the city, large enough to show each house by number and the gross sanitary conditions of all premises. Each unsanitary lot was shown in red and every well, vault, sewer, water main, vacant lot, business property and public building was indicated by symbol or color.

We knew the facts; but we had to demonstrate them to get results. The map was shown at a luncheon to three hundred members of the chamber of commerce, with a talk on "The Truth About Springfield." The business men endorsed our work and the newspapers gave the facts wide publicity. Next the map was hung in the council chamber and the members of the city council were shown why we should have ordinances compelling property holders to connect their property with sewers and water mains. The ordinances were passed in three weeks, although we had vainly sought to secure such ordinances for over two years.

Then another interesting thing developed. Protest on the part of the business men gave way to serious consideration. The work had gone too far to be stopped and it became the part of wisdom to fall in line with it. Real-estate men advertised their property on its sanitary merits and money became harder to borrow on unsanitary property. For the first time in the community, sanitation took on a commercial value.

But the Springfield sanitary survey—if you choose to dignify it by that name—went a little further than a mere census of wells and vaults. During the house-to-house canvass the inspectors made notes of all unsanitary conditions and all nuisances and these were ordered remedied and abated.

They also noted all tenements and bad housing conditions and the data furnished by them along this line afforded the

basis for the housing investigations we have since carried on. We have studied, charted out and photographed the worst conditions in the city and we are now ready to do our part in convincing the Illinois General Assembly that there are slums in the smaller cities and that there is a crying need for good state housing laws.

In this housing investigation we took a tuberculosis census of the worst tenements and fumigated and disinfected as far as possible. We succeeded in improving the conditions of the worst tenements; but lack of state laws made satisfactory action impossible.

As I have stated, we were making this investigation entirely without a plan or system. Each undertaking when completed had pointed out something else that required attention, and at this juncture we found a new force urging us on. That was an aroused public interest. The better element of the people were watching to see what we would do next and the four daily newspapers of the city backed up our work and featured everything that was undertaken. This aroused interest was sufficient to hush all opposition.

We were now ready to consider our infant mortality. Our first effort was in the direction of an honest milk, containing a reasonable butter fat and total solids and free from preservatives. We recognized, however, that this was a commercial rather than a public health proposition.

We realized that "the amount of manure a milk contains is more important than the amount of butter fat" and we determined to visit and inspect all of the dairies supplying milk to the city. In this tour of inspection we attempted to teach the dairymen and farmers the prerequisites of pure and clean milk; but we warned all of them that inspections would be made from time to time and that the condition of all dairies would be made a matter of public record open to milk consumers.

This investigation of dairies was followed by inspection of restaurants and bakeries, the details of which cannot interest you here. The results, however, were gratifying to us.

We are now engaged upon an investigation of garbage collection and disposal, studying our own conditions and the methods

of other cities. We are trying to solve what I am inclined to regard as the liveliest public health problem of American municipalities—a problem, incidentally, which is not yet solved ideally by even the largest of cities.

The Springfield sanitary survey is not complete, nor will it be for several years to come. We are studying the town part by part and we are preserving all of our data in the hope that we may be able some day to show a complete sanitary survey of a smaller city. But every step is being taken with a definite plan in view. We have to produce results, and results that we can show the people.

The people, as a rule, will give active coöperation to work of this kind. They will be tolerant of criticism of local conditions. But after a while they will meet you with the essentially practical and entirely proper demand, "Now that you have given us all this undesirable publicity, what have you accomplished?" Incidentally, they are not to be satisfied with a story of "interesting data." The only way you can safely use a town as clinical material is to cure its sores.

For twelve years the average mortality from typhoid fever in Springfield had been something over 40 per 100,000 population. In 1910, the year our investigation was undertaken, it was 52. In 1911, the year after our agitation of polluted wells and the passage of sanitary ordinances, our typhoid mortality was in the twenties. The record of one year is not conclusive. Such a result immediately following sanitary agitation, however, is suggestive and encouraging.

In 1909, sixty-eight infants died from summer diarrhea; in 1910, even after we had a good commercial milk supply, there were sixty-four deaths. In 1911, after our dairy inspections, there were forty-one deaths. This may be coincidence, but it is suggestive.

My only excuse for burdening you with the details of our work in a small mid-western town is to make you realize that the small town has real sanitary and public health problems unappreciated by the people, to demonstrate that reasonably good results may be attained without an elaborate plan and without any considerable expenditure of money. The same excuse will justify this additional detail.

The collection of data in our work was entrusted to four inspectors, already overworked, and receiving \$60 per month—men entirely without sanitary training and three of them with little more than ward-school education. They have served as sanitary inspectors, dairy inspectors, housing inspectors, as conditions required, their only instruction being such as we could give them; but each man being fully informed as to what we were trying to do and why.

In addition to the salaries of these inspectors, which had been paid from time immemorial, the total cost of the survey and the sanitary map to the city of Springfield was less than \$100.

There is but one other thought in connection with our sanitary study. We were after a direct result, the reduction of morbidity and mortality. We are encouraged to believe that we have accomplished at least enough to justify the effort. But we now feel that we see other results more gratifying and far-reaching than we had anticipated.

Our work had been accompanied by unrestrained publicity. We accentuated the civic needs of the city in every possible way and we feel that we perhaps stimulated others to activity in their individual lines. We had demonstrated, perhaps, that civic improvement was not so difficult to bring about as had been generally believed and we had possibly stimulated a general spirit of investigation.

At any rate, whether our sanitary investigations had anything to do with it or not, a great many things have come about during the past two years. A detention home has removed children from the jail and has simplified the work of an excellent trained probation officer. A tuberculosis association of 1,000 members operates a dispensary and employs visiting nurses. Medical inspection of school children is established. The almshouse of Sangamon County is being thoroughly studied from a medical and sociological standpoint and provision is being made for county care of indigent consumptives. The dispensing of county charity has been placed in better hands. But most important, the people are awakened to the necessity of a thorough knowledge of local conditions, and a broad and sweeping

survey of the city—a real survey this time—is being considered and is practically assured.

The experience in Springfield, the gratifying results attained without the employment of expert skill, has made me believe that similar results may be attained by other cities either through the agency of their health departments or through the activities of private agencies. The survey in Springfield was carried out without a definite plan of action, and the following scheme of study was the result rather than the foundation of the work.

Unquestionably a well defined plan will serve to simplify the survey, will render it more systematic and will prevent ineffective labor in various directions. The one submitted here is little more than a skeleton in the elaboration of which we are now engaged. It may serve in its present form, however, to suggest a rather simple and consecutive line of action which will prove helpful to those about to engage in work of the kind.

SCHEME OF A SANITARY SURVEY

I. STUDY OF MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY FROM COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

No intelligent work to reduce morbidity and mortality can be undertaken until we know the present morbidity and mortality and the averages for several years past.

In most instances morbidity from communicable diseases may be ascertained from the records of the local health department. Such records, however, are frequently faulty and incomplete. Under such circumstances, the present morbidity may generally be estimated after interviewing all members of the local medical profession. Morbidity records for the past will be unattainable.

Mortuary records for many years past should be obtained from the local health department. If the municipality has no registration of deaths, the desired data can usually be obtained from the state registrar of vital statistics or from the state board of health.

After securing the present and past average mortality from preventable diseases, these should be compared with similar

figures from other municipalities as near the size and existing under as nearly the same conditions as possible. Much valuable information for purposes of comparison may be obtained from the last reports of the United States Census Office dealing with mortality statistics. It is only by such comparison of figures that we can determine whether the local mortality is higher than it should be.

1. *Diseases to be Studied*—(a) Typhoid fever; (b) tuberculosis; (c) malaria; (d) yellow fever; (e) small-pox; (f) chicken-pox; (g) diphtheria; (h) scarlet fever; (i) measles; (j) whooping cough; (k) industrial diseases peculiar to the community; (l) summer diarrhea of infants; (m) accidental deaths.
2. *Sources of Information*—Local health department; state health department; local physicians; reports of United States Census Bureau.

NOTES—Seek out the cause for every decided deviation from the normal or average mortality. Such deviations are at times due to outside influences bearing in no way upon local sanitary conditions.

Ascertain total mortuary figures. Do not accept death estimates in percentages. One death in the community may affect the rate 100 per cent.

II. WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE DISPOSAL

(Special relation to typhoid fever.)

1. *Source of Municipal Water Supply*

(a) Results of last analyses.

A single analysis should not be accepted as final. Conditions in an unprotected supply often change from season to season.

(b) Possible pollution of the public supply at source.

Information should be obtained from the municipal water company, the local water department or the local health department. It would be well to inspect personally the source of supply.

NOTE—If analyses have not been made, samples should be

secured and sent to laboratories for analysis. In several states, the state water survey, the state university or other state departments will make analyses of local water supplies without charge. Reliance should not be placed on the so-called "simple water tests."

2. *Private Wells*

- (a) Extent to which they are used. (If used at all, it will be impossible to ascertain the extent without a house-to-house canvass. The same is true with privy vaults. See below.)
- (b) Analysis of water from presumably good wells.
It is never worth while to make analyses of water from wells which are obviously polluted.

3. *Privy Vaults* (Important on account of pollution of wells)

- (a) Extent to which used.
- (b) Enforcement of ordinances or regulations as to the distance of vaults from wells or cisterns.
- (c) General construction of vaults to prevent soil pollution.

4. *Sewer System*

- (a) Extent throughout the city.
Location of those sections not reached by sewer.
- (b) Location of outlets of sewers.
 - (i) Danger to people of this community.
 - (ii) Danger to other municipalities.
- (c) Extent to which sewers are used by those to whom they are available.

NOTE—Information as to the sewer system and the sewer outlets may be obtained from the city engineer or the department of public works. The extent to which sewers are used by those to whom they are available can often be determined only by house-to-house canvass.

5. *Methods of Sewage Disposal*

- (a) Is sewage "treated" before discharge or is it discharged in its raw state? If treated, what is the method of treatment?
- (b) Present and future dangers of the system employed.

6. *Pollution of Soil*

- (a) By privy vaults.
- (b) By polluted ponds or streams receiving sewage.
- (c) By sewers with loose joints.
- (d) By tile or surface drains. Private sewers.

III. ALLEYS

(Special relation to fly-borne diseases; nuisances from decomposition of organic waste matter; dust and mosquitoes.)

Remember that, as a general principle, the alley belongs to the municipality and that it is unlawful to place ashes, manure, garbage or any other material therein.

1. *Ashes*

- (a) Extent to which they are placed in alleys. Loose or in containers.
- (b) Disposal of ashes.

2. *Manure* (breeding place for flies)

- (a) Extent to which it is placed in alleys.
- (b) Loose or in tight, screened boxes.
- (c) Frequency with which it is removed.

To guarantee against the breeding of flies, manure should be removed at least once a week from alleys and premises.

- (c) Disposal of manure.

- (i) Dumps (sources of danger).
- (ii) Burned.
- (iii) Distribution to farmers for fertilizer.

In some cities this is carried out systematically and satisfactorily.

3. *Garbage* (nuisance and flies)

Presence in alleys (see Section IV)

4. *Alley Grade*

Drainage into yards.

Low places breeding-ground of mosquito.

Permitting the use of alleys for even the temporary disposal of ashes often results in raising the grade of the alley above that of surrounding

property, causing the water to drain into nearby yards.

NOTE—In the house-to-house canvass proposed in this plan, all bad alley conditions should be noted and reported to the health department or to the department of streets and alleys.

IV. GARBAGE DISPOSAL

(“The liveliest public health problem of American municipalities.”)

(Special relation to fly-borne diseases, soil pollution. Dumps bear a close relation to contagious diseases.)

1. *Handling Garbage at Home*

- (a) Are special cans or containers required?
- (b) Destroying garbage at home.
 - (i) To what extent practised?
 - (ii) Method employed.
- (c) Separation of refuse into garbage, ashes and rubbish.
- (d) Wrapping garbage in paper (dry garbage).

2. *Collection of Garbage*

- (a) Public or private collection.
 - (i) Cost to householder.
 - (ii) Frequency of collection.
 - (iii) Specially constructed garbage wagons.
 - (iv) Regulations concerning collection.

3. *Disposal of Garbage*

- (a) Dumps.
 - (i) Location of dumps.
 - (ii) Character of waste taken to dumps.
 - (iii) Policing dumps.

NOTES—The municipality has no more right to permit the dumping of decomposable waste near to the home of a citizen than it has to empty its sewers near to the home of a citizen.

The recovery of articles from the dumps, as is often done by the poor, is a common means of carrying contagious diseases into those homes in which such diseases are most

difficult to locate and control. Much of the most usable salvage in a city's waste has been discarded on account of contagious and infectious disease in the home.

(b) Feeding garbage.

- (i) Distributing garbage to farmers.
- (ii) Municipal hog-feeding.

Not a sanitary or practicable plan in the ordinary climate.

(c) Incineration.

- (i) Incineration of garbage alone.
- (ii) Incineration of all waste.
- (iii) Incineration with artificial fuel.
- (iv) Burning garbage and other waste with its own combustible material.

NOTES—The ideal method of refuse disposal is incineration of all kinds of waste—garbage, manure, ashes and rubbish. In this way we avoid the necessity of dumps of any kind in the community.

Ideal incineration implies the utilization of the fuel content of the refuse itself. In this way sufficient heat may be obtained to produce steam for power in municipal plants.

(d) Reduction of garbage.

- (i) By public or private company.
- (ii) Materials regained from garbage.
- (iii) Revenues to the city from reduction.
- (iv) Cost to the city.

V. STAGNANT POOLS AND OPEN CISTERNS

(Special relation to the mosquito and to malaria and yellow fever. More important in southern cities.)

- (a) Location of stagnant ponds and pools.
- (b) Best means of draining same.
- (c) Screening cisterns.

VI. HOUSING

(Special relation to tuberculosis, contagious diseases, immorality, physical inefficiency, deficient education, crime and children).

1. General Survey of Housing

In the house-to-house survey, all bad housing conditions should be located and noted for future investigation.

2. Intensive Study of Housing

The study of individual houses and blocks indicated in the general housing study as being undesirable.

3. Yard space

(a) Percentage of lot unoccupied by buildings.

(i) Grass and trees.

(ii) Paved.

(iii) Drainage and sanitary conditions.

(iv) Uses of yard space.

4. Light (A study of each room in undesirable buildings used for dwelling purposes)

(a) Outside rooms.

(b) Light wells.

(c) Sky lights.

(d) Dark rooms and uses of dark rooms.

5. Ventilation (Studied according to above outlined scheme for light)**6. Business Houses**

Relationship of dwellings or tenements to saloons, immoral resorts, business houses and industries. Dwellings over stables.

7. Home Industries**8. Congestion**

(a) Number of inmates.

(b) Room congestion.

(c) Roomers, boarders, homes and light housekeeping.

9. Water Supply

(a) Source.

(b) Convenience to living quarters.

10. Sewage**11. Condition of Plumbing**

This study should include observation of plumbing conditions and facilities for ordinary cleanliness.

12. *Disposal of Garbage and Waste*
13. *Nationality and National Traits*
14. *Children*

Number of children in each dwelling, with note as to the manner in which they live, association with immorality, sanitary conditions, etc.

15. *General Sanitation*

16. *Transient or Permanent Residents*

NOTES—In collecting housing data the name of the landlord and agent of each piece of property should be obtained.

Each dwelling, building or block studied should be mapped or platted out.

Photographs should be obtained of the worst conditions.

VII. RESTAURANTS, BAKERIES, BUTCHER SHOPS

1. *Sanitary Conditions*

- (a) Cleanliness.
- (b) Plumbing.
 - (i) Condition.
 - (ii) Location in relation to foodstuffs.
- (c) Living quarters near to place of food handling.
- (d) Protection from flies.
- (e) Health of workers in foods.
- (f) Spitting.
- (g) Care and protection of food supplies.

VIII. MILK SUPPLY

(Special relation to infant mortality, tuberculosis and contagious diseases.)

1. *Chemical Content* (Butter fats and total solids)

- (a) How often tested by local authorities.
- (b) Collection from homes of consumers or on open market and testing privately.
- (c) Freedom from preservatives.

A milk containing the legal amount of fats and solids and free from preservatives is merely a good commercial milk. The greatest importance attaches to the amount of filth the milk contains.

2. *Dairy Inspection*

- (a) Health and condition of cows.
 - (i) General health.
 - (ii) Tuberculin testing.
 - (iii) Cleanliness.
 - (iv) Feed.
- (b) Condition and construction of barns.
- (c) Condition and cleanliness of milk houses.
- (d) Conditions and method of shipping.
 - (i) Cleansing cans.
 - (ii) Rapid reduction of temperature.
 - (iii) Pasteurization.
- (e) Water supply.

3. *Bottling*

- (a) Sterilization of bottles.
- (b) Hand or machine bottling.
- (c) Place of bottling.
 - (i) At the farm (good).
 - (ii) At the milk depot (unsatisfactory).
 - (iii) In the milk wagon (intolerable).

4. *Health of Employes*

Contagious diseases are often transmitted by the milk supply. Scarlet fever and diphtheria have been traced back to this disease among milk handlers or their families.

5. *Milk Depots*

Methods of handling milk and general sanitary conditions.

6. *Infant Mortality*

Ascertain the source of milk supply in all cases where there has been infant mortality in the family.

IX. METHODS OF STUDY

1. *House-to-House Canvass*

This is the foundation of every satisfactory sanitary survey. Study each house and yard and note all wells, privy vaults and the general sanitary conditions. Information is also gathered during this house-to-house canvass upon which to base the future investigation of water supply and sewage;

alleys; garbage disposal; stagnant pools and cisterns; housing; restaurants and bakeries.

2. *Sanitary Map*

A large map of the city should be prepared with each lot large enough to show house number, wells, vaults and all gross sanitary conditions. This map should also show the paved streets, sewer system and water mains.

The making of the map teaches a great deal about the city as a whole and brings together the accumulated data in a form which can be shown to the people or to the city officials.

3. *Study Water Supply, Sewers, Topography, etc.*

Study of the data in the office of the city engineer and department of public works.

4. *Intensive Study of the Various Subdivisions of Work*

- (a) Visit all dumps and garbage-disposal plants.
- (b) Study all housing conditions and plat out all blocks, houses or rooms investigated.
- (c) Inspect all dairies supplying milk to the community, using the government score card as a guide.
- (d) Visit and inspect all restaurants, bakeries, etc.

X. STUDY OF EXISTING LAWS AND ORDINANCES

Study the state laws under which the municipality is given its right of public health control.

Study the city ordinances to see what improvements can be brought about by merely enforcing existing laws.

XI. NEW ORDINANCES

Ascertain what faulty conditions will require new ordinances to bring about their improvement.

Study ordinances of other cities which are bringing about satisfactory results in these lines.

XII. STUDY OF EXISTING HEALTH DEPARTMENT

(See the standards of public health efficiency in an article by the writer, "The Inefficiency of Municipal Health Departments," published in *The American City*, August, 1911).

1. *Duties of the Health Department under the Ordinances*
2. *What Ordinances are not Enforced? (Ascertain why).*
3. *Study of Special Functions of the Department*
 - (a) Water analysis.
 - (b) Milk inspection.
 - (c) Quarantine.
 - (d) Reports of communicable diseases.
 - (e) Isolation hospital.
 - (f) Abatement of nuisances.
 - (g) Registration of vital statistics.
 - (h) Constructive work.
4. *Provisions for Efficient Service*
 - (a) Qualifications of health officer.
 - (b) Salary and assistants.
 - (c) Reasonable appropriations.
 - (d) Freedom from politics. Civil service.

XIII. METHODS OF PUBLICITY

- (a) The sanitary map.
- (b) Newspapers.
- (c) Expositions and exhibits.
- (d) Bulletins and circulars.
- (e) Public meetings.
- (f) Churches.

XIV. DEALING WITH CITY OFFICIALS

Coöperation if possible.

Meet opposition by a showing of fact and overcome opposition by publicity.

XV. THE SURVEY STAFF

- (a) A competent physician, preferably with some public health training.
- (b) A public-spirited and competent lawyer.
- (c) Staff of paid or volunteer inspectors to collect data.
- (d) A practical plumber, or better, a sanitary engineer.
- (e) Clerical help and draftsman.

THE RELATION OF A NEIGHBORHOOD SURVEY TO SOCIAL NEEDS¹

BY PAULINE GOLDMARK

Bureau of Social Research, Russell Sage Foundation

THE relation of a social survey to the social agencies in its territory is to a large extent a test and index of its usefulness and service to the community. After an investigation has been made, one may fairly ask the question, How does the new knowledge meet the social needs of the particular city or neighborhood in which it is undertaken? How much does it contribute toward solving the practical problems of the active agents within the district?

It is, of course, true that in the new quest for wider knowledge, merely descriptive investigations have been justified. Fuller acquaintance with one's particular neighborhood, a closer knowledge and contact with one's neighbor have been of distinct service. Such studies have widened the outlook for the practical workers who are too closely attentive to their own particular tasks. To know the various nationalities represented in any district, to look up its housing conditions, its health records, its representative industries, and all the descriptive material that gives a general picture of the neighborhood—all this is essential.

But in the first stages of this new search, are we not inclined to be too readily satisfied with objective facts rather than going deeper down under the surface to reach those subtler truths which concern the whole community? It is surely not enough to know the people statistically, to count their numbers, race, and age distribution, and to note their mortality records. One must also, in any given community, take note of the predominating influences that are affecting life for good or ill. What is happening to your community? What is its temper? Is it progressing or deteriorating? What is the younger generation

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.

doing and thinking? What are all the social causes that underlie these phenomena?

I can best illustrate my point by referring to some definite instances with which I have become acquainted in the study of a single neighborhood in New York city. A limited area was chosen for an intensive investigation so as to reduce our problem to a manageable unit. It is a West Side district which lacks the picturesqueness of the immigrant quarters of the city. We are dealing with the problems not of newcomers but of the second and third generation of foreign parentage—hitherto little regarded. Unlike the kaleidoscopic shifting of nationalities on the East Side, where the newcomers succeed each other with amazing speed, where Italians and Russians have dislodged the earlier groups of Irish and Germans, this population on the West Side is stationary. Here is one of the few spots on Manhattan Island where the population has not increased in the last decade. The bulk of the community is Irish and German-American. The immigrant groups are not yet conspicuous. The problems of Americanization and amalgamation therefore do not primarily concern such a neighborhood. These people are American citizens, and we have to discover a fact of cardinal importance, namely, what place are they and their children taking in the community? In other words, what may happen when a tenement-house population is comparatively stationary for several generations?

This district of ours is a "back-set" from the main current of the city's life. It is discouraged and apathetic. The bolder and more enterprising spirits are attracted to the more thriving parts of the city. Here there are no signs of prosperity. Loafers at every corner, street fights, drunkenness and poverty are the obvious features of the neighborhood. All admit that it is "tough." The waterside is infested with lawless thugs and gangs and the neighborhood is hardened to deeds of violence that would stir any other community to action.

In such an environment it is not surprising that the various social agencies should share in the general discouragement. The better elements, such as they are, do not show on the surface. This district has never known great prosperity. The in-

dustries, which have since moved away, first attracted its people. "Jerry" builders put up cheap tenements of a poor type in the 70's and 80's. These antiquated old houses, with their windowless rooms, are still the only homes for the workers. Rents are somewhat lower than in other parts of the city. This advantage and the prevailing apathy and inertia have kept the people here. Many have lived here during their whole lifetime. In brief, it is a deteriorating rather than an advancing community.

Such then is our district at first sight. If the social survey is to be helpful, it must go beneath the surface; it must show the underlying causes which have produced this sinister result. However baffling the task, we must provide for the social agencies which are doing the constructive work of the community a knowledge of the fundamental facts and tendencies. Thus the study of the industries, for instance, must embrace the far-reaching results of employment. It is not enough to know the industrial establishments and the immediate conditions of work; we need to consider other elements. Who, for instance, compose the bulk of the working force? What is the wage scale and the chance of advancement? Are the foreigners under-bidding the American workmen, and are the latter being driven to less desirable employments? Are the industries using up the young and vigorous stock and crowding out the prematurely old? Are there industries which require unemployment and under-employment? We ought to examine each industry to see whether it is leaving its workers stranded after a short trade life and manufacturing an army of unemployables. And if then employment is precarious for a man past middle life, what is he driven to? What forms of casual labor can he obtain? Some estimate must eventually be made of the social waste of such an industrial system.

These suggestions do no more than touch the question of economic pressure and its significance in the lives of the wage-earners. They are questions of prime importance, however, since they determine the earning capacity of the workers and in consequence the status of the entire family.

For the social agencies of any community, to take another instance, there is no more important task at the present moment

than getting the right sort of employment for boys and girls. In place of the present haphazard methods of beginning work, the survey should be able to tell what are the really good occupations for young people to enter, where advancement is assured for the competent, and what "dead end" occupations are to be avoided.

In any community where there are foreign colonies, a totally different range of problems opens up. Segregated from the life of the city, and separated from all Americanizing influences, their activities are often unknown to us. Who would imagine, for instance, that in a Slavic colony in our midst, one would find the government of a despotic master, whose control is absolute over hundreds of adult men? To these immigrants he is the sole connection with the American world. He provides jobs, and takes them away at his own pleasure. The railroads know him and rely upon him to provide freight handlers, but the community know nothing of the exploitation of ignorant foreigners going on at their very doors.

Clearly one of the most important socializing agencies in any community should be the children's court. Our survey shows that the children's court in Manhattan urgently needs better investigations on which to base court action. At present it cannot even take advantage of the information about families which is available in relief and church records. It has no connection with the schools, whereby it could be informed about the gangs of toughs in the neighborhood, and about the ringleaders who lead the boys of the block into trouble. Often the judge is forced to act blindly, since he receives no proper report of the family or neighborhood situation. It is obvious that the work of the court could be greatly strengthened and improved if a probation officer specially appointed to work in a given district were able to report on each case with a full knowledge obtained from every one acquainted with the family—for instance, from school, church, relief agency, settlement and club.

The present system of indiscriminate arrests, which often fails to bring into court the real ringleader, seems so unreasonable to the neighborhood and has aroused its antagonism so

often that the influence of the court is seriously undermined. The children's court in New York, which should be known in the community as a friend of the children, is unfortunately considered nothing but a vague authority in league with the police, which arrests a boy for playing in the street as well as for more serious lawlessness. Its real purpose is entirely unintelligible to the neighborhood.

The practical value of the social survey for any district can here be only briefly indicated. Turning on the light and getting at the facts is its contribution. It should give the diagnosis of the social ills and direct the remedies and treatment more intelligently. Surely there is no better way to reinvigorate the efforts of the leaders of the community and of all the progressive forces working to improve conditions. If these efforts can be well directed instead of working in the dark and taking the path of least resistance, a first step will be gained. But the survey should perform a still greater service; through its new insight it should stimulate larger and more constructive movements of social betterment than have ever before been attempted. It should open new vistas that lead us out of the narrow and localized life. It should enlist the best forces in the community to lighten the heavy toll of human suffering which poverty, ignorance and neglect now exact from the overburdened workers.

(529)

STATISTICAL METHODS IN SURVEY WORK

BY ROBERT EMMET CHADDOCK

Assistant Professor of Statistics, Columbia University

VITAL statistics serve a two-fold purpose. They show where to look for causes of bad health conditions, and they demonstrate the success or failure of remedial measures where applied. The record of deaths in a city, year by year, may show a constantly high death rate from typhoid fever—a rate double that of other cities of similar size. An examination of the city water and milk supply may reveal conditions that explain the high death rate. It may be necessary, however, to investigate premises in various sections of the city—the surface wells and drainage, the sewer connection and the garbage removal. The cause may finally be located in the use of surface wells and the lack of sewer connections. If it is shown that one-half or two-thirds of the families are using these surface wells polluted by the lack of sewer connections, it amounts to a demonstration to the city authorities as to the source of the typhoid germs. The method of prevention is clear, and when adopted the typhoid rate declines fifty per cent. This new statistical record is evidence of the success of the plan, and those who were obliged to make improvements required by law feel that the requirements were just.

It is the purpose of this paper to emphasize the importance of vital statistics over smaller unit areas, and to make clearer the reason why we must at present depend upon special investigations for most of our detailed information on social and health conditions.

STUDIES NEEDED ON HEALTH PROBLEMS

Our present health reports are inadequate for social purposes. Statistics is the bookkeeping of the public health movement. The head of a business firm asks of his bookkeeper more than a statement of general results. He wishes to know what lines

of effort have yielded the best returns and what, if any, have been conducted at a loss. He wishes to know the weak spots in his system of business administration in order that efforts may be concentrated at those points. Likewise, the health department of a city should ask of its bookkeeping division what causes of death are increasing and what are decreasing in the community as a whole. But the explanation of the increase or decrease frequently involves a study of smaller portions of the community in order to discover a particular set of conditions operating. The department is anxious to find out what lines of effort are most effective in decreasing disease and saving lives; what occupations are so dangerous to health as to require legislative interference to protect employes; in what sections of the city, or among what nationality, or under what sort of industrial and living conditions the mortality rate of infants is high. Does the crowding of population, as shown by the number of persons per room, result in a higher death rate? Do bad sanitation and ignorance affect the problem? What is the relation of pure milk supply to health? What is the effect of establishing milk stations? What trades are especially dangerous from the point of view of tuberculosis? Is one nationality more susceptible to the disease than another? How do bad housing and ventilation affect the problem? Is the death rate lower where hospitals and sanatoria have been provided for dangerous cases and where nursing and instruction are given in the home?

At present few of these questions are adequately answered through the records and reports of health departments. It is not sufficient to give general death rates for a city or even a ward of a city. The divisions must be smaller so as to show differences in health associated with differences in housing, sanitation, nationality, working conditions, and special provisions for pure water and milk supply. The answers are left to special inquiries into the housing, sanitation, milk supply and factory conditions of certain sections of the city, and the correlation of the health records with these facts.

NEED FOR CORRELATION OF VITAL STATISTICS AND POPULATION STATISTICS

In order to arrive at a measure of progress in sanitation and health, rates must be computed for successive periods of time. This cannot be done without a record of population to which we may relate vital statistics. It is not enough to have simply total population for the city or ward. It is necessary to distinguish by sex, by age and conjugal condition and by nationality. Further, it is exceedingly desirable to have this census of population by smaller divisions than boroughs or wards. It is only by intensive study of localities having certain living and working conditions and certain classes of population, and by comparison of these localities with others having different environmental and human conditions that we can secure the information on which to base a program of future social action on health problems.

Before the present census it was the hope of statisticians and social workers that the population facts of our large cities would be tabulated and published by smaller tracts than wards or assembly districts,—for instance, by forty or eighty-acre areas, which would cover from eight to twenty Manhattan blocks. The director of the census states that the enumerations have been made for New York city by forty or eighty-acre tracts, but by reason of inadequate appropriation the results cannot be published for such tracts. The publication by the bureau of the census will be by assembly districts only.

The chief objection to the assembly district as a unit is that it is political and is, therefore, subject to change. There is no assurance that it will cover the same area at the next succeeding census. If it does not, we cannot compare the death and birth-rates for the two periods without the danger of serious error. Besides, we wish to know, at successive periods, the changes in population over the same area, the changes in nationality, in crowding, in sanitation, in living and working conditions, so that we may relate these changes to changes in the birth and death rates, accident and sickness rates, thus measuring sanitary and health progress.

Besides, the assembly district is too large in many cases. In order really to make evident relations of cause and effect in health problems, intensive study of the local situation is frequently the only method. It then becomes possible to apply remedial measures intelligently to the sanitary, housing or working conditions. It is easy for bad conditions in water or milk supply or in housing and sanitation over a narrow area to exaggerate the death rate for a whole ward or assembly district. The remedy must be applied where the bad conditions are localized.

For New York City it is possible to secure population facts for the smaller areas only by private initiative or at city expense. The Federation of Churches, under the direction of Dr. Walter Laidlaw, has divided the city into smaller tracts—not, however, of uniform size—and has sent thirteen clerks to Washington to secure the detailed tabulations by these areas from the schedules. In the division of records of the health department the vital statistics may be tabulated by houses, blocks, or any areas desired, but the annual health reports give most of their figures for the city as a whole or by boroughs, and very little of the detail even by wards. The next problem will be, even if Dr. Laidlaw succeeds in making his tabulations available for public use, to secure coöperation with the health and tenement-house departments, to have their data tabulated by the same areas in order that population and vital statistics may be related without the need of additional special tabulations from the health records. Thus the outlook for publication of health statistics useful for social purposes is not promising in New York City. The health reports are two years behind, the special studies are intermittent and lack continuity, the published facts are for too large areas to be most useful for social purposes, and it is not possible to relate them to population facts for smaller areas than the boroughs or assembly districts, the latter not being used by the health department for its tabulations. The need is for a research department within the bureau of records to study these special problems and bring together facts of population and facts of vital statistics in local special studies to test the results and efficiency of health expenditures in the past and to

indicate new lines of effort in protecting the public health for the future.

NEED FOR PUBLICITY

It is not enough to have a careful investigation of the causes of infant mortality, or of the facts as to the birth rate, or of the data on the prevalence of tuberculosis, or of the information concerning the nature and extent of industrial accidents. These facts must be put in convincing form and must be used to inform the public. On the basis of these data public opinion must support or condemn policies for the conservation of health. The public looks in vain among the pages of the average health report for information which will furnish convincing proof or disproof of the efficiency of past policies and which will guide to an intelligent shaping of future policy. The public needs to be informed in regard to the meaning and purpose of the work of the health department. One aim should be, and is, to teach the individual citizen how to protect his health and that of his family. This requires a weekly or monthly bulletin so popularized as to educate at least the leaders in the public health movement, *i. e.*, physicians, teachers, clergymen and social workers. The newspaper is being used to great advantage. The graphic method is effective in reaching the eyes of those who will not read.

What has been said concerning health data is largely true of other social facts. We know the area of the wards of a city and can easily calculate the density of population per acre, but we know comparatively little about the number of persons living per room and the extent of increase in room-crowding in certain districts. The latter is the vital information for most purposes, because density per acre does not take into consideration the height of the tenements or the amount of space used in each acre for factory or commercial purposes. Furthermore, an average per room for a large area is of little value, because this may fail to show seriously overcrowded conditions in certain narrow localities, where overcrowding may seriously affect the welfare of the population.

We may have a fairly accurate estimate of the number of in-

dustrial accidents in a community, and this knowledge may be sufficient to arouse us to action. But this is not enough knowledge upon which to base a program of prevention or compensation. It is necessary to locate the dangerous operations in the various industries, to know the hours and speed of work, the experience of the injured workers, the hour of the day when the most accidents occur, as well as the number of hours at work before the accident, the safety devices employed, the instructions given, the nature and duration of disability, and other similar facts, before schemes of prevention and insurance can be intelligently worked out. We look in vain in most official reports for material upon the basis of which accident rates can be computed because the numbers employed in specific operations, in supposedly dangerous industries, are not known. A larger absolute number of accidents does not stamp a trade as specially dangerous if a larger number of men is employed in that trade, and yet in legislation it would not be possible to uphold preventive legislation applied to a specific dangerous operation unless it could be conclusively shown that it was specially dangerous to health and safety. There is little uniformity in the published facts about accidents, so that comparison is impossible. We have now a movement for a uniform schedule of accident reporting, but we need uniform classification for published reports as well as uniform collections of facts.

Statistical records often show us where to look for the causes of social maladjustments, as was pointed out at the beginning of this paper. A survey of conditions in a community and a careful record of the findings which can be recorded in statistical form ought to be a useful guide in any preventive campaign. It is for this reason that the quantitative study of social phenomena is attracting wider and wider attention at the present time. But this is not the entire function of statistical data in relation to social problems. They are testing instruments for the schemes of social reform in operation. They measure the success or failure of a program that has been adopted. This being the case, it is a responsible matter to plan out a survey of community conditions, so far as the methods to be used are concerned. The survey finds the conditions to be of a particular

nature at a given period. The important social question is, what will their nature be at a period ten years in the future? It is a great function of the survey to reveal actual conditions in order to build up public opinion by education on the great social responsibilities. It is an important service to hold public officials up to a test of their efficiency at the particular time at which the survey is made. But this, it would appear, is not the only, or even the greatest function of the survey, because those who are making it possible for the community to know itself to-day wish to furnish methods and plans by which the same community may keep a check on its conditions year by year, in the future, and thus make the knowledge a permanent possession.

(536)

THE SCOPE AND VALUE OF THE LOCAL SURVEYS OF THE MEN AND RELIGION MOVEMENT

BY ORRIN G. COCKS

Secretary of the Laity League, New York Federation of Churches

THE last campaign of the Men and Religion Movement, which has touched nearly seventy-five cities of the country, has been held in New York city. It has had a five-fold method of attack: the presentation to the men of the churches of the need of boys' work, Bible study, missions, individual evangelism and social service. There is a clear recognition of the need of effort on the part of laymen. Almost no attempt was made in the campaign to reach men outside the church. This is a refreshing point of view. It implies a feeling of dissatisfaction, an acknowledgment of only partial success; and it involves examination of the working force. This paper is concerned chiefly with social service.

It has been the custom of the social-service leaders in other cities to request a general survey to be taken of the social and religious life of the cities, on which they might base their recommendations to the men of the churches. The New York social-service committee, of which William Jay Schieffelin was chairman, decided to make the formal survey secondary and to make an intimate investigation of activities peculiar in many respects to New York.

The committee approached the social problems of the city from two standpoints. First, the names of the men from two hundred seventy-five or three hundred churches in Manhattan and the Bronx were obtained. These were presumably especially interested in social service. In order to facilitate the gathering of data and to develop the neighborhood feeling, the city was divided into twelve districts, eight of which were in Manhattan and four in the Bronx. Survey blanks, dealing with

the institutional and social life of the church, the equipment for work and the methods used, the character of the community, and the existence of such institutions as saloons, dance halls, motion-picture shows, pool rooms, vaudeville houses and schools were sent to every man. This involved for each man careful personal investigation of an assigned district near his church. In many cases for the first time, church men made a systematic canvass of the social life surrounding their churches. This study aroused much enthusiasm among men who were socially inclined. For each of the twelve districts there was appointed a chairman, who gathered the social investigators or key-men together weekly for conferences.

The survey of the district below Houston street will serve as an illustration of the kind of facts which were gathered:

(a) A study of the 1910 census for the district revealed the fact that there were 420,000 people below Houston street. These were separated by nationalities and time of arrival in the country. Total native whites of native parents were found to be only 17,011. Some 315,000 persons were found to be living east of the Bowery and 105,000 west of the Bowery. In the district there were some 107,000 Italians.

(b) It was found that the members of the Protestant churches amounted to a few more than 9000. Of the twenty-four churches, fourteen were doing social work. Eleven missions were found to be ministering to homeless men and sailors. An investigation of the attendance at ten selected churches on Palm Sunday morning and evening revealed the fact that there is a very limited group from which to draw for formal church services, and that the churches are forced to undertake neighborhood and institutional work for the overwhelming foreign population.

(c) A study was made of the work of the hospitals and dispensaries, both public and private, within the district.

(d) The fifty acres of park space, with the activities carried on in each park, were listed; also, the number and kinds of special activities carried on in public schools, both summer and winter. Some attempt was made to discover the completeness with which the district was served with fresh-air agencies.

(e) Investigation revealed the fact that there were 1379 saloon or hotel liquor licenses below Houston street or one to three hundred fifty-seven inhabitants, as against one to four hundred forty-eight for Manhattan. Remarkable as it may seem, when the saloons catering to the business group are deducted, it is found that the people in the tenements are more abstemious than those in other parts of the city. One hundred and sixty pool rooms were noted, twenty-two moving-picture shows, forty dance halls and forty-nine theaters and vaudeville houses. A careful investigation was carried on of sixty-three lodging houses also, with a total capacity of 10,161.

This slight summary of one interesting district will show the kind of facts revealed elsewhere. The completeness of the work varied in the twelve districts. The men representing the local churches were finally called together for three evenings of conference and discussion with such men as Charles Stelzle, Raymond Robins and J. L. Lansing. In these meetings, clear-cut and definite suggestions were made for future work by individual men and churches.

The second way of approach to social problems was through a social-service committee. The chairman recognized the immensity of the field, the ignorance of the men of the churches, the newness of social service on the program of the churches and the importance of advice from men whose decisions would carry weight. He called around him fifty men who were well trained in some phase of social Christianity. The nucleus of the committee was gathered from the Laity League for Social Service, which for two years had been studying city problems from the standpoint of the men of the churches. As finally constituted, the committee comprised eleven of the younger and more active ministers, nine lawyers, two educators, ten social workers, four men in commercial life, two transportation specialists, two Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, one efficiency engineer, one social and religious statistician and others, all Christian men of large vision.

The field for study was almost unlimited. When once a man recognizes that religion is a matter of the spirit and lies in the realm of motive, he discovers that all work is, or may become, re-

ligious. Instead of following the general survey outlined by the social-service experts of the Men and Religion Movement, the committee decided to devote its activities primarily to definite studies along ten different lines. By means of a secretary and a corps of investigators giving their full time, in addition to the skilled assistance rendered by the members of the sub-committees, the following subjects were investigated: (1) municipal agencies; (2) social agencies; (3) education; (4) industries and industrial welfare; (5) recreation and amusements; (6) housing and transportation; (7) health [including sex education]; (8) immigration and the foreigner; (9) justice and probation; (10) the police, with a statement on the social evil.

The reports of the sub-committees were directed to the men of the churches and were intended primarily for their consideration and action. As each subject was dealt with, the results of the investigation were thrown into a statement, a series of resolutions and one or more recommendations. Although the field was by no means covered, these recommendations in the ten lines totaled about one hundred eighty.

In every case the chairmen of the sub-committees and their co-workers adopted the method of complete coöperation with the skilled social, industrial, legal or municipal agencies that were covering the subjects investigated. The committee was unanimous in feeling that the period of independent work is past and that success is dependent on complete coöperation of all efficient agencies. This might be made clearer by saying that the committee consulted with fully five hundred individuals,—city department heads, social agencies and private experts.

Below will be found a short summary of the recommendations of several of the sub-committees:

Recreation and amusements. (1) Urge all church men to coöperate with the public recreation commission. (2) Establish dancing in church houses. Encourage dancing in Young Men's Christian Association buildings. Regularly inspect public dance halls. Close up those that are disorderly or immoral. (3) Support the ordinance governing the motion-picture shows. Form a group to commend good plays and to reform or sup-

press theaters offending public morality. (4) Assist in reducing to the minimum excursion boats maintaining state rooms or selling liquor. (5) Use church houses more generally for recreation. Maintain more vacation schools in churches and public schools. Urge larger appropriations for this department from the board of education. (6) Introduce pool and billiard parlors in the churches. Support an ordinance closing public parlors at a reasonable hour and exercise the supervision of such games in the neighborhood of churches. (7) Urge the establishment of well managed and wholesome public amusement parks.

Industries and industrial welfare. (1) Develop cordial co-operation between the trade-union locals and the Federation of Labor men and the men of the churches. (2) Support a state bill for one day's rest in every seven. Take an advanced position on the physical surroundings of labor, fire hazards in lofts and factories, and safety appliances. (3) Become intelligent on the question of "home work" and the wisest method of meeting this situation. Let it be understood that the church men understand and are opposed to child labor or harmful labor of women. (4) Support enlightened laws upon employers' liability and workmen's compensation. (5) Study the preferential shop as a sensible method of avoiding trouble between employers and trade unions. (6) Urge the proper study of the pushcart situation and the possible establishment of city markets. (7) Propose the larger use of the state and federal employment bureaus for removing excess labor from the cities to parts of the country where the need for labor is great.

Social agencies. (1) Urge church men to attempt to understand local and national social conditions and to make regular study of progress. (2) Become volunteer social workers where the need is great. Encourage individual churches to relieve their own poor, but to do this in coöperation with other agencies in the districts. (3) Support a confidential exchange of information regarding needy people to avoid overlapping. Assist in furnishing facilities for tubercular cases. (4) Lay upon the city the burden of the care of homeless men and support the request for a farm colony for vagrants. (5) Provide permanent

custodial care for the feeble-minded. This will serve to illustrate the kind of work that was done.

Much enthusiasm was engendered, which culminated in the campaign. Thoughtful workers, however, realize that this is but the beginning. The work of conservation is far more important. This subject has had the thoughtful attention of the committee. They recognize that the work of obtaining permanent results will be slow. The organization to handle such work, however, must be of an interdenominational character which will command the respect and support of the laymen of all denominations. Since social service is involved in no way with doctrinal questions, there is no reason why such an interdenominational group, working for social betterment and dominated by the religious motive, should not include the Catholic laymen and the Jews. Luckily such an agency has been in existence in New York long enough to test itself.

The leaders of the churches recognize that the church, as a church, cannot commit itself to social, philanthropic, civic, sanitary or penal work. The function of the church is to inspire. The organization formed by the combination of individuals exists primarily to bring men into relationship with God irrespective of their political, social or philosophical opinions. All recognize, however, that inspiration must find its expression in action. Every man who has learned the value of clean living, love of God and love of his fellows must work these out in his life, otherwise his religion is a travesty. His definite line of work, apart from his business of obtaining the necessities of life, will depend largely upon his interests and his ability. No two men can be expected to work out their religious conviction in the same way.

There exist also in the Protestant churches organizations, leagues or brotherhoods of men which have been formed for social purposes. Although the church may not take action as a unit, these men's organizations, as well as individual men, may support certain convictions and assume certain positions in society. These brotherhoods have already discovered that it is essential to work upon problems external to the life of the individual and the church if they are to preserve life. The pro-

posals of the five departments of the Men and Religion Movement come as a godsend to these agencies of the Protestant churches.

The organization of conservation will be a thoroughly democratic one. Care will be used in its membership. The fairest-minded men of executive ability, who will command the respect of laymen throughout the city, will serve as the representatives of the men of the church. They will select activities requiring action and will bring them directly to the attention of the men in the local churches. They will seek the opinions and support of such men and will request their coöperation until results are obtained.

A situation has developed in New York which requires careful attention. The city has been found to be so large that it is impossible to draw together the church and the social workers for satisfactory action for all the boroughs or even for one borough. Local neighborhood groups have been formed or are in process of formation in several parts of the city. Believing heartily in coöperation, the conservation agency must take into consideration these intensely loyal groups of religious and social workers and must attempt a thorough fusion of workers for local and neighborhood betterment. There is little doubt that such neighborhood groups will rapidly develop into organizations with an intelligent comprehension of city-wide problems.

The Men and Religion campaign has accomplished the impossible. In one short year it has convinced the Protestant churches throughout the country that their mission is not only individual but social as well. It has welcomed into its ranks as thoroughly orthodox those social workers who have insisted upon the social application of the gospel and who have heretofore been regarded as heretical. It has convinced the men of the churches of their essential narrowness and has led them, with due humility, to link themselves with social workers.

The progress of the conservation of the work of the New York Men and Religion campaign must necessarily be slow. The men of the churches, both lay and clerical, are ignorant. They have called too many things common and unclean. They have been dominated by individualism. No one campaign,

however effective it may be, can accomplish the conversion and the education of the mass of laymen. The important result of the campaign is a change in the point of view. The work of training will come in due time. Without doubt, individual men and individual laymen's groups in various parts of the city will take up actively and effectively throughout the coming months those parts of the program outlined by the social-service committee which appeal to the more active of their members.

(544)

A FEDERAL COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS—WHY IT IS NEEDED

JOHN B. CLARK

Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University

THE most critical issues pending in modern states are those between employers and employed, and in our own country they are coming to have an overshadowing importance. This is because the nation is democratic and is becoming more and more industrial, and the demand is insistently made that the voting power be used to improve the laborer's economic status.

How much a government can do in promoting the settlement of the wages problem can be known only after rather long experimenting; but it is clear that in any case the problem must be settled by some action on the part of the people. If the manner of settlement is right, we can count on prosperity, peace, and at least an approach to contentment; if it is wrong, there will be embitterment and serious peril; while so long as there is no settlement at all, industry will go haltingly, classes will be increasingly antagonistic, and the government will have no basis for a permanent policy. Law-making will yield to whatever pressure is for the moment the strongest.

No one can guarantee that a commission will be able to answer, once for all, the questions that chiefly perplex us, but it should be able to do much in that direction, and at least put us in the way of getting the answers we seek. Some of the most essential facts are not now known. No one can positively tell how great the income is which has to be divided between employers and employed. Statistics of income have never been made complete, but a commission can make the most of what figures there are and it can obtain more. Moreover, testing, collecting and arranging figures will be a service of the highest value, and a commission which has the confidence of the public

will be able to prepare statistical material which is fit to be the basis of public and private action.

Some facts which are needed have to do with the difficulties inherent in the industrial system, and others with experiments already tried for dealing with them. There is a long chapter of attempts made in our own states and in foreign countries to make employer and men more like partners and less like enemies. It is necessary to know how much each one of these efforts has accomplished.

The supreme question is a moral one. Is labor generally getting its due? A belief in some quarters that it is not, explains the embitterment of the once cordial relations of employer and employe. If there is any way of knowing in what part of the system labor gets all that is due to it and in what parts it gets less, and if there is any way of ascertaining what preventable causes stand in the way of justice, that discovery should be rated as in the first rank of discoveries making for the improvement of mankind. A belief that the laborer is wronged and that he will never get justice without a revolution accounts for the growth of the dangerous parties that constitute the extreme left of the labor movement. A belief that much can be done without revolution—that reforms will work well and revolution extremely ill for the workers themselves—accounts for the earnest constructive work to which a great majority of citizens are committed. We need therefore an authorized list of such reforms as can claim immediate support.

There are many things we need to be sure of in connection with the policy of reform. Some efforts to change the terms of distribution in favor of the workers react badly on the amount to be divided. Strikes and lockouts do so, and so does the policy which organized labor sometimes adopts, of reducing its own efficiency—the so-called “ca’ canny” of the English trade-unionist. Different in its working, but closely connected with these measures on the part of the workers, is the employer’s effort to reduce the output of his own mills and of other mills of like kind, for the sake of exacting higher prices from the community. If we can stop all such efforts, how much will society gain and what part of the gain will fall to the laborer?

Of course there will be more to be divided, but how can we cause the excess to be shared fairly?

In so far as the laborers' plan of limiting the number of pieces they can turn out is concerned, that appears, on its face, to be an absurdity. How can any one expect to make his wages greater by making his product smaller? And yet this plan of action has some motive. There must be a way in which, during a limited time and for a limited number of persons, it may do something which, in their view, is rational. The whole evolution that has led to such tactics should be examined and, in the light of history, statistics and economic principles, a reasonable plan of action should be determined.

Even the basic question of the justice and the utility of the organization of labor is here and there called in question. This means more than the rightfulness of particular things that trade unionists do; it concerns the principle of trade unionism, rather than the practises which have grown up under it. If there were any real doubt as to the necessity and the justice of organizing laborers for collective action, that question would easily take the first rank in importance. There is no real uncertainty, however, as to this fundamental point, but there is actual danger that, in taking ground against the violent measures of some unions, even reasonable men may range themselves against the principle of union; and they will do so more and more as the opinion gains ground that strikes are useless without violence.

Can labor get on without actual strikes? How far can strikes, when they occur, succeed without violence? Is there any danger that a rigorous enforcement of law, without tribunals of arbitration for the settlement of wage questions, will leave laborers helpless in their employers' hands? On the other hand, is there danger that no enforcement or a lax enforcement of the law for protecting persons and property would make the employers comparatively helpless and invite anarchy in every great industrial center?

Sad indeed would be a state in which peaceful strikes would lead to starving the workers and violent ones would destroy the social order. Verily, it is a choice between the devil and the deep sea! But fortunately there is an alternative. Suc-

cessful arbitration may both preserve order and do justice. Recent history records a long series of possible measures aiming to secure the laborer against exploitation, and the employer and the non-union worker from the various forms of *sabotage*. There are conciliation, arbitration by committees created by the contestants, each for a particular dispute, and arbitration by permanent tribunals. There is adjudication having no coercive power, and taking place only as a tribunal is invoked by one or both contestants, and there is the same kind of adjudication which acts on its own initiative, though still without power to enforce its decisions. There are tribunals that have full coercive power, since they can fortify their decisions by fines or other penalties for those who refuse to accept them. There is a plan which requires no formal coercion, but invokes a very real power when it publishes a decision. It investigates the claims of workmen, announces a just rate of pay and merely relies on a stern repression of disorder in case the rate is refused. Workers who then refuse a really just rate are not able to carry their point by "slugging" the men who accept it.

There is much more to be investigated and it is clear that the field of inquiry is enormously large. That many studies and fruitful ones have been made in this domain is no reason for opposing the creation of a commission. It can serve as a competent jury to weigh the arguments of those who have already put their conclusions on record. The mass of literature on this subject is so vast that no one reads the whole of it, and many valuable parts of it reach very few persons. If a commission makes the most of the studies of the past, if it summarizes conclusions and weighs the arguments in favor of them, its reports should be very illuminating to the general public. Even a small measure of success in so a vast an undertaking would be a sufficient reward for the labor and the outlay it would cost. It might easily open a vista leading to a state of future peace, comfort and justice, gained without an overthrow of the social order followed by a more than doubtful effort to build a new one.

LABOR LEGISLATION A NATIONAL SOCIAL NEED¹

HENRY R. SEAGER

Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University

AS preparation for discussing another's paper, it is but prudent to have read it or at least to have heard it. Unfortunately, I have been prevented from either reading or hearing the papers to which you have just listened. This gives me an excuse, of which I am glad to avail myself, for interpreting the invitation of the Academy to discuss the topic of the morning as an invitation to point out still another national social need.

The national social need with which I am most impressed just now is labor legislation. This need and the efforts the American Association for Labor Legislation and other organizations are making to meet it ought to be made articulate before this audience.

An excellent illustration of the circumstances that call for national labor legislation is the use of poisonous phosphorus in the match industry, which has just been made subject to a prohibitive tax by act of Congress. White or yellow phosphorus, the poisonous form that is commonly used in the manufacture of American matches, happens to be somewhat cheaper than sesqui-sulphide or any of the other non-poisonous forms of phosphorus which might be substituted. It happens also that the poisonous, double-dip, phosphorus match is a little better match from the point of view of ready ignition than any non-poisonous match that has yet been made. In fact, it ignites so readily that its presence in the community is a frequent cause of destructive fires. (The Bureau of Fire Protection in New York city has been so impressed with the danger in connection with poisonous phosphorus matches that it has prohibited the sale or use of such matches in New York city after January 1,

¹ Discussion at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.

1913, simply and solely as a means of fire protection.) Because it is a little cheaper, and a little better, the poisonous phosphorus match has continued to be manufactured in the United States; not because American match manufacturers are so inhuman as to desire to expose their workers to the risk of the terrible disease called "phossy jaw," but because competition left them no choice if they were to hold their own in competitive markets. They might, of course, have agreed unanimously to discontinue the use of poisonous phosphorus, but it illustrates the anomalous condition of our law, that such an agreement, if entered into, would almost certainly have fallen under the condemnation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Moreover, there was at least one manufacturer who denied the existence of the danger of "phossy jaw" and who could not have been persuaded to give up the use of poisonous phosphorus unless compelled to do so by law.

In this country, the first thought when confronted with an industrial poison of this sort, for which substitutes almost as cheap and almost as good are available, is that the prohibition of the use of the poison should be secured through state legislation. But the same circumstances that compel the well-meaning manufacturer to meet the conditions set by his less scrupulous competitor virtually compel the well-meaning state to make its labor legislation as lenient as that of its less advanced neighbor with which its industries may be in competition. The half dozen states in which the match-manufacturing industry is carried on could not individually prohibit the use of poisonous phosphorus by their manufacturers, without running the risk of driving out an important state industry. For a situation of this kind, uniform regulations applying to all manufacturers throughout the United States offer the only satisfactory solution.

Under the constitution of the United States, Congress has the power to deal with this evil by means of a prohibitive tax, or by means of the prohibition of interstate and foreign commerce in the poisonous phosphorus matches. The second remedy was believed to be inadequate to the situation, since it would not prevent the manufacture and sale of poisonous phosphorus matches within the limits of any state. For this reason

the American Association for Labor Legislation decided to urge upon Congress the first remedy, a prohibitive tax. To this plan, although opposed by only one of the match manufacturers, grave constitutional objection was made. It was held by Judge Underwood and by several other of the most enlightened members of Congress that to use the taxing power to put an end to a domestic industry, rather than to secure revenue for the federal government, was a perversion of this power which, though permitted under numerous decisions of the federal courts, was yet improper for Congress to exercise. The conclusive answer to this objection seems to me to be that a broad construction of our written constitution is essential to the orderly conduct of government and the efficient adaptation of our legal machinery to the changing requirements of our industrial and social life. In conferring upon Congress the taxing power, the framers of the constitution conferred that power without any limitations as to its exercise. Repeatedly, the courts have upheld as valid an exercise of that power designed to regulate and even to prohibit imports or domestic transactions. Where the need of prohibition through national legislation can be clearly demonstrated, as in this case, the objection that the taxing power was not intended for this purpose seems to me academic. This was the view finally taken by the great majority of the members of Congress after the matter had been clearly presented to them in all its bearings. In the House, Judge Underwood, who spoke strongly against the bill before the vote was taken, was able to carry only twenty-nine of his colleagues, so loyal to his leadership in connection with most legislative proposals, along with him. On the Republican side, Mr. Mann, the Republican leader, was the only one to have his vote recorded against the bill. In the Senate, notwithstanding the customary opposition of Senator Bailey, the bill went through by *viva voce* vote.

The situation presented by poisonous phosphorus matches was no doubt unique, and yet the same general conditions which made national legislation desirable in this case already present themselves in a number of other cases that will certainly be pressed upon the attention of Congress as time goes on. Con-

sider, for example, the situation with reference to the twelve-hour day in American steel mills. Employes working on the twelve-hour system are engaged in continuous processes. This means that the only practical alternative to the twelve-hour shift is the eight-hour shift. The steel-mill owners contend, and with seeming truth, that they cannot change from the twelve-hour day to the eight-hour day without making some reduction in wages. They cannot, that is, unless all of them make the change together. In this industry, labor organizations which might be looked to to secure a uniform work-day for the employes of different employers have been largely eliminated. The consequence is that this change, so vital to thousands of American wage-earners and their families, can only be made voluntarily by the employers or through legislative interference. I do not wish to go so far as to urge that the time is ripe for national legislation to deal with this situation. I do contend, however, that state legislation is inadequate to deal with it, because competing steel mills are situated in different states, and it is unreasonable to ask one state to impose this handicap on an important domestic industry when in other states no such restriction is found.

Or take another example. The coal-mining industry is carried on in many different states, under highly competitive conditions. This is one of the most dangerous industries in the country. State regulations looking toward the elimination of unsafe conditions and greater regard to the life and health of mine-workers have proved quite ineffective. More has been accomplished within a few years by the National Bureau of Mines, attacking the problem on a national scale and relying entirely on voluntary appeals to mine-owners and mine-workers to coöperate in lessening accident risks than by all state regulations taken together. At the meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation held at Washington last December, the proposal was made that a Federal Mining Commission be substituted for the Bureau of Mines, and that this commission be empowered to prescribe conditions of safe mining which must be complied with by all operators of mines in the United States, as a condition to having their products transhipped across state lines.

This is, of course, a very advanced proposal and many considerations might be urged against it until, through the voluntary work of the Bureau of Mines, we have fuller knowledge than we yet possess as to the safety conditions that might reasonably be prescribed. That such a plan, however, will in the comparatively near future be urged upon Congress as a practical and desirable policy, can hardly be doubted, and when it is brought forward as a practical proposal, shall we not all have to agree that here too national labor legislation is needed to afford to the wage-earners of the country the protection to which they are entitled under a humane and progressive government?

I might enumerate other examples. The need of a uniform child-labor law, imposing minimum requirements on all the industries of all the states, has already been urged upon Congress in the so-called Beveridge Bill and will undoubtedly continue to be a political issue. In fact, wherever the case in favor of the regulation of labor conditions by law can be clearly and convincingly established to the satisfaction of the great majority of our citizens, the practical and effective method of legislation will usually be found to be national legislation. Through use of the taxing power and the power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, Congress may as rapidly as it chooses impose regulations on our important national industries. The thought I wish to emphasize is, that as our industries become more and more national, transcending state lines in their operations, and as our knowledge in regard to the regulations that ought to be imposed becomes better, national labor legislation comparable with the national labor legislation of the United Kingdom, Germany and the other progressive countries of Europe will be more and more a great national need.

(553)

NEXT STEPS IN THE CHILD LABOR CAMPAIGN¹

OWEN R. LOVEJOY

Secretary National Child Labor Committee

FROM the national point of view, the first important question regarding child labor is, how much is there in America?

There is more than ever at any one time in any other nation of the western world. There are no comprehensive statistics later than those of 1900, which showed 1,750,180 working children between 10 and 15 years of age.

Second, we want to know why we have child labor. This question would lead us to a consideration of problems of poverty, ignorance, self-interest of employers as well as of parents, and lack of constructive opportunities to fill in the otherwise vacuous life of many young people. Of persons directly responsible there are three classes: employers, parents and children. Of course the majority of all these three classes are opposed to child labor; but so far as it has supporters they belong ordinarily to these three groups.

In the third place, we need analysis and discrimination. Not all kinds of child labor are bad. We have no objection to a boy of fifteen years working eight hours a day at a good trade which offers a fair wage and gives a chance for advancement; but we do believe that, despite all efforts to make work beautiful, there is no way in which we can so idealize and beautify a ten-hour day in a factory for a fourteen-year-old child as to make the two elements harmonize. We believe girls ought to learn to sweep and take care of the baby, to wash dishes so constructively that they can be washed again, to prepare food and serve it, to practise all these household arts and many other arts; and these tasks ought to be made beautiful. Some of them do mean hard work, but they can be so filled with significance that they will

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.

attract the girl. Regardless of so-called social classes, every child should learn at the earliest possible age the dignity and honor, as well as necessity, of hard work; but we must draw a line somewhere, a line which is necessary partly on physiological and partly on psychological grounds. We may develop a wholesome relation of the child to education or to household duties, but there is no relationship that can be made wholesome between a twelve-year-old girl and a cotton-spinning frame for twelve hours a day or twelve hours a night, however we adjust it or attempt to idealize that spinning frame or cotton mill, and however we talk about its beautiful lights flashing through the darkness, and the luxurious hum of its perfectly-adjusted machinery, and the high colors of the fabrics being woven by the machinery. When we try to adjust a twelve-year-old girl to it we prostitute the divine element in that girl's nature. So there are certain lines of a so-called repressive nature, whether we may have any constructive opportunities for a twelve-year-old child or not; whether or not we can provide a campfire or industrial training or a well-ventilated schoolhouse. I protest that idleness, broken by such exercise and activities as the child will discover for himself if they are not provided for him, is better for a twelve-year-old child than a twelve-hour day in a mine, a cotton mill, a glass factory, a sweatshop or one of the ordinary street trades, which are considered by careful students of the problem the most injurious of all child occupations. Therefore, we need discrimination.

In analyzing and breaking up the problem we find we also break up the army of people opposed to child labor; this offers a difficult problem to the constructive student of this social question. For example, no right-minded citizen will say he believes in child labor. It is only when you break up your problem into its constituent elements that you begin to lose your adherents. The cotton manufacturer thinks the coal operator inexcusable for allowing little breaker-boys ten, twelve or fourteen years old to bend over nine hours a day picking slate. He would not do it. But he knows that the boys and girls who have come down from the mountains of the South, and thus escaped the ravages of the hookworm, are immeasurably blessed

by working ten or twelve hours a day or night in his cotton mill. In the same way the coal operator would not be guilty of employing little boys every night every other week in the glass factory; that is intolerable. But it is all right to let these little Polish and Italian boys bend over the coal chute, because they are foreigners, anyway—and besides, coal cannot be mined without them. The preachers in the coal regions are all opposed to the iniquity of employing little boys in the coal breakers, are they not? No, to the iniquity of Sunday base ball; that is their text.

The glass manufacturer is sure the cotton manufacturer and the coal operator are exploiters, but that a boy employed at the feet of the glass blower is getting the best kind of industrial training, and therefore child labor in the glass house is a social benefit. So the newspaper men are all against child labor, but not against the child laborer carrying papers on the streets. The farmers are against it, but not on the farm. The people in this city are all opposed to child labor, but suppose you try to put an end to the employment of children in perhaps 13,000 or 15,000 homes in New York city, in the kinds of home work now absolutely beyond the scope of law. No matter how watertight we try to make the law, no matter how many inspectors we appoint, it is absolutely impossible to regulate home work so long as we have families employed in their homes in making articles for commerce. Child labor cannot be regulated. But suppose you pass a law to put an end to that—do you think the people of New York would stand for such protection of the children? They would immediately tell you that you will starve some poor widow. So we break up our army; we lose our friends.

In the fourth place, we must study the social effects of child labor, and I have not time to do more than indicate them. As to health, we know from the few scattered reports that child laborers are more often injured by industrial occupations than adults.

The effect on education we know. The two are incompatible. Where child labor thrives education declines. When measures are taken that put an effective restriction upon child labor,

education advances. A few years ago we were told by the southern cotton manufacturers that it was not necessary to have inspectors, because no child could be employed legally under twelve years of age, and because they had a gentlemen's agreement to obey that law. Finally a factory inspector was appointed for South Carolina, and in the first three months he took out of the cotton mills of the state more than fifteen hundred little boys and girls illegally employed. That was only an incidental benefit of his work. The real constructive work is that there has been an epidemic of schoolhouse building in South Carolina ever since.

What of the effect on morals? If I had time to debate the old proposition that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do," I would show you that a larger proportion of working children get into the toils of the law than of so-called idle children, who are getting an education and having fun. These latter children escape arrest, escape the reformatory, escape the juvenile court, because their lives are filled with the imaginative, with the constructive, with the beautiful of which Dr. Gulick has spoken. We ought to have more of these things. I should like every child in the country decorated with a garland about the brow, to show that we still maintain the faith that every child bears the divine image. We need that. But the children who go into the factories and sweatshops and street trades are the children who fall below the moral level and get into trouble.

We need also to study the effect of child labor upon our standards of living and wages. We need to learn how far the competition of the ignorant, inefficient child breaks down the standards of wages and family income. The connection is definite and direct, as can be amply proved.

In the fifth place, we need agencies and equipment to handle these specific problems. I am not one of those critics of the church who argue that every church ought to become a body of investigators and agitators to remove these specific abuses. A church of fifteen hundred members cannot constitute itself an investigation committee on child welfare in its community. It is not trained for it. When my plumbing is out of order I

send for a trained plumber. We have a committee organized to handle these detailed questions that require expert training and to act as agent for the church. What we want of the church and all other religious, moral and social organizations, is the moral and financial support to help do the work.

We need specific agents for investigation and for drafting laws. The average citizen does not know how to draft any kind of a law; that task needs training. We need men trained in promoting legislation and many other specific tasks which require special training.

We need to study efficient administration. I have a letter from a man in Massachusetts saying, "The factory inspectors in this community are old soldiers, and the truant officers are janitors, and the whole child-labor law and compulsory education law in this town are jokes." Similar complaints come from all parts of the country. We need to study that situation and find how extensive it is. There is no use simply getting good laws on our statute books. If we need good laws we need yet more their careful, efficient, systematic enforcement.

We need also the arousing of public sentiment, through speeches, newspapers, magazines, and all agencies of publicity. This is shown by the complete victory that has just come after a five-years' campaign on the part of the National Child Labor Committee to get the federal government to establish a children's bureau. After that bill was drafted, nearly six years ago, the National Child Labor Committee took it up, and we have been agitating for it ever since. Finding that general agitation did very little good, we placed a lobbyist in Washington and kept him there for four years, canvassing every man who came to Washington and finding what support we could get. We drew into this campaign churches, women's clubs, manufacturers' associations, labor unions and other organizations that have reached an immensely larger public than we could reach, and an aroused public interest carried the bill through. The children's bureau has been established, and day before yesterday the President appointed the best man in America as its chief—Miss Julia C. Lathrop. Our victory is won. We have tried to secure better laws in the different states, and during the

past eight years thirty-eight states have strengthened their laws, no less than thirty legislating last year.

We must coöperate with all other special agencies for child welfare. We can coöperate with the Campfire Girls and the Boy Scouts, the Playground Association and the vocational guidance workers, for it is all one problem. Though we cannot separate the problem into its constituent elements, each group of workers must push its own part of the task and do it by special and well-directed effort.

(559)

BUDGETARY PROVISION FOR SOCIAL NEEDS¹

WILLIAM H. ALLEN

Director New York Bureau of Municipal Research

THREE momentous budgetary opportunities now confront social workers: the national budget's provision for economy and efficiency; the New York city budget estimates for 1913; and the congressional bill for chartering the Rockefeller Foundation. Each of these opportunities typifies a condition which prevails throughout the country; *i. e.*, our vision of social needs has far outstripped our means and our habit of coöperating to meet these needs. A few minutes given by social workers in April 1912 to these three opportunities would do more good than millions of dollars and hundreds of mass meetings given to the same subjects next December.

The same change is needed to give to the Rockefeller Foundation bill the united aggressive support of social workers and givers as is needed to arouse them to the aggravation of social needs which must follow neglect to register the judgment of social workers in favor of the other two enormous possible benefactions above mentioned: (a) the national efficiency and economy program and (b) an adequate budget for meeting New York city's social needs in 1913.

There is hardly a social agency in the United States that aims at efficiency that has not tried to secure support from Mr. Rockefeller. Colleges, charities, voters' leagues, hospitals, settlements, churches—one and all are to be found among Mr. Rockefeller's regular correspondents. One and all are offered now, through a bill to charter the Rockefeller Foundation, joint responsibility for spending a fund of at least one million, perhaps five million dollars a year. The deed of gift says in effect: "We want this money used for public welfare. There is no restriction upon its use except that it shall be for the

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.

public welfare. We want it spent according to the best-informed suggestion and most enlightened criticism of those familiar with social needs."

Yet so unaccustomed are we to thinking about our work in terms of the way government does its business that we have not in this matter of the Rockefeller Foundation connected our judgment and wishes with the national machinery necessary to give them effect. I mean that we have not let Congress know that we believe it should pass this act of incorporation, and that we want such passing done in the name of human welfare and not as a courtesy to Mr. Rockefeller and the distinguished legislators who sponsor the bill. If you can explain why you and I have not spent two cents and ten minutes writing our opinion to our congressman or senator in support of this huge welfare fund, I can explain why so many of us overlook other budgetary opportunities.

A second great opportunity which most of us will lose relates to an item of \$200,000 which Congress has been asked to insert in its budget for next year for continuing the work of the President's commission on economy and efficiency. No one doubts that more efficiency and more economy are needed in national departments. Everyone concedes that millions upon millions could be saved whether or not Senator Aldrich over-estimated the present waste when he said he could save \$300,000,000 a year if given an opportunity to put efficiency methods at work in national departments. Nobody denies that the efficiency work which began two years ago under the direction of Dr. F. A. Cleveland, chairman of the President's commission, has already saved many times its cost and has laid the basis for saving millions next year.

Yet practically without protest from the social-worker clan, the majority in Congress actually proposes to cut out the \$200,000 necessary to cure the disease of incompetence in national business which these days does infinitely more harm than smallpox or cholera. Men learned in the laws of political psychology talk wisely of what the people want and do not want, and say: "If we cut out the \$200,000, the masses are simple enough to give us credit for a saving of \$200,000. If we leave it in, the

masses will see the \$200,000 with big eyes and will give us no credit for our intended saving of millions." Just think of its being possible in April 1912 for such assertions to go unchallenged by the very group which best of all in the country perhaps is able to picture what one million or five millions or ten millions a year will buy if spent in meeting social needs. Think of what even one million dollars a year spent efficiently by the national government on education and health would do to reduce the call for local charities and corrections, hospitals and the like.

There is still time for social workers and philanthropists to secure letters to congressmen and representatives, and to interest editors, commercial bodies and city clubs in making it understood that this national budgetary provision of \$200,000 for efficiency in spending a billion dollars a year is an urgent need for every locality and every kind of uplift work.

The commission's studies relating to processes, organization, personnel and supplies have already specifically located opportunities to save millions as follows: \$1,000,000 can be saved by omitting needless steps in handling mail; \$250,000 can be saved by using window envelopes; \$100,000 by using multi-graph processes; \$50,000 by discontinuing the affidavits appended to personal expense vouchers; \$500,000 by merely securing the usual reductions in purchasing railroad tickets, as by return trips; millions by standardizing 20,000 supply items; by extending (from 9,000 items before standardization to 30,000 after) the standardizing of supplies, specifications, contracts and method of inspection; millions more by consolidation of related service.

\$200,000 is needed next year:

a. To retain intact the group of experts who have been slowly gathered with congressional approval during the last two years, who are now practised in "team-work," and whose dispersal would be a grievous loss to the nation.

b. To utilize facts already collected through expenditure of the former appropriation of \$200,000 and through the collaboration of fully 2,000 employes and officials who have been brought to coöperate with the commission.

c. To utilize also facts that are in rapid process of collection through improved methods of accounting and reporting already installed as the result of this efficiency work.

d. To assist department and division heads in the administrative improvements declared by all to be necessary.

Congress has already been urged by three special messages to give the efficiency work unanimous non-political, non-partisan support. Putting national departments on an efficiency basis has been unqualifiedly favored by Democratic, Republican and independent papers.

The only avowed reasons for opposing the measure are: (a) a \$200,000 appropriation should be saved; (b) work should be done by congressional committees; (c) work should be done by departments. In answer to these reasons there is ample evidence to prove that:

a. It will cost millions in 1913, and each year thereafter, to save this \$200,000; many times \$200,000 were saved in 1911 and have already been saved in 1912, through use made of information furnished to Congress by the commission—and not otherwise available.

b. This is work that can be done only by one continuing, central, technical body, and cannot be done by numerous congressional committees. Such committees have been comparatively futile because they have been unable to get enough facts and have never had the continuity needful for success. Follow-up work that rebuilds is quite as important as investigation that discloses the need for rebuilding.

c. The departments are already doing much. They will do vastly more if stimulated and guided by a central body of experts armed with authority to enforce uniform, appropriate, modern business methods.

The fulfilment of platform and campaign pledges in 1913 will be practically impossible without such information as this work is accumulating. The continuance of the present efficiency work is an indispensable asset to Democrats and Republicans alike.

The business man's patriotic interest in national business is reason enough for continuing this work for efficiency in national

departments. But in addition, the citizen knows that putting national departments on a modern efficiency basis must in innumerable ways benefit private business and give tremendous impetus to efficiency in city, county and state business throughout the country.

Fortunately New York city's citizens are not voiceless as to budgetary provisions for that city's social needs. But this year we must act earlier than usual. National and state campaigns will make it almost impossible to secure public audience for discussion of social needs and budgetary provisions after June. Prompt action between now and June will pay huge dividends. If we give the city government the benefit of definite knowledge possessed by us respecting social needs not yet met by different departments, the best results will come from pointing out gaps between what the public agree ought to be done through government and what it is actually getting done through government. Here and there is a social need which no government department has yet undertaken to meet and which it is worth while trying to lodge upon the shoulders of taxpayers. Even here, however, success requires that the interest of the right department be enlisted before that department submits its budget estimates next July.

It is most exceptional that discussions of budget estimates ever add to requests made by departments. They frequently subtract from such requests. If, therefore, we wish departments in 1913 to do work never yet undertaken or to do more of certain kinds of work already undertaken, the time for us to present our facts to departments and to the public is between now and June first.

The greatest social worker in New York is the city government; the only picture we ever get of what the city government plans to do and is asked to do is the annual budget estimate; the time to get needs into estimates is now; the time to explain needs is now; although the budget is voted in October all the time between now and October is required to inform the public about budgetary provisions for social needs.

Another set of facts needs emphasis: each agency's budget is all it has to spend plus what the city spends in all depart-

ments; every act of government relieves or aggravates a social need; the most effective philanthropy is that which supplements and inspires government action; the least effective philanthropy is that which tries to take the place of work provided for in the city's budget; the monthly loss of life in New York city from preventable causes is greater than the Titanic's loss; the worst diseases are in people's attitude toward government; the only agency able to do educational work on a large enough scale to change anti-social attitude toward government is government; the only means is budgetary provision.

To make our local city government discharge efficiently its duties as our social-worker-in-chief, we need the enactment of a charter for the Rockefeller Foundation; we need the appropriation by Congress of \$200,000 for continuing the economy and efficiency work in national departments; and we need the interest of the social-worker group, including philanthropists who support social work, in the steps between now and June upon which will depend next year's budgetary provisions for social needs in Greater New York.

(565)

AN INTERPRETATION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

BY ALICE PRENTICE BARROWS

The Vocational Guidance Survey

NO one ever thinks until he has to, and he does not have to until things go wrong. Sometimes, however, he gets a warning that they are about to go wrong. Whether he acts upon the warning depends upon whether he has formed the habit of putting two and two together. The sudden cry for vocational guidance is a warning to take thought in a complex and disturbing situation. It announces the preliminary struggle between industry and the schools; it is the cry, "They're at it!" We may rush panting to the rescue with all the paraphernalia of aids to the injured after one or the other combatant is down; we may get control of the weapon of one of them; or we may call a halt and say, "What is all this about, anyway?" In other words, the plea for vocational guidance may herald a great democratic revolution in education, or it may sound its death-knell.

Some years ago business descended upon the schools and captured commercial education. The reason for the assault is easily understood. The schools were said not to be "practical." They did not prepare for life, which was spelled "business." But the attempt to graft a narrow commercial education onto a little-understood general curriculum was probably the most impractical thing ever started by "business." It resulted in compressing education into tabloid form for the consumption of employers. It turned out children who were too early and too superficially specialized to remain efficient when they got out into the struggle for life. If that experiment proved anything, it proved that education is an organic, not a mechanical thing, and that to try to train children by suddenly "tacking on" highly specialized courses to an unrelated general curriculum violates the processes of nature. A child simply does not grow that way. Now vocational guidance is the popular warning of

the same danger in regard to vocational training, particularly industrial vocational training. Vocational guidance is not yet a program. It is only an exclamation of dismay, perhaps of prophecy. What it may become remains to be seen.

This is not the usual interpretation of vocational guidance, but the history of its rise and the causes of its appearance will perhaps show the reasons for its various interpretations and suggest which one is most fundamental and far-reaching in its possibilities.

It is significant of the present uncrystallized state of this movement that the words *vocational guidance* and *vocational training* are often used interchangeably, and that the terms *industrial education*, *decay of the apprenticeship system*, *blind-alley occupations*, and *need of a lifework* are all tangled up with this ill-defined phrase *vocational guidance*. And they are all bandied about in conferences and discussions in a loose and solemn fashion, to the despair of those who want to know what it is all about. It were well if we could throw all these hackneyed terms overboard, and start with a clean slate, go straight to the facts and draw our conclusions freshly from them.

It should be remembered that the rise of vocational guidance in this country differs from its rise in Europe, and that if we are going to understand its development, we must study it with relation to American conditions, temperament, and institutions, rather than with respect to its evolution in an older country. I have in mind two stories which are true and which give vividly the history of the changing social conditions that made the cry of vocational guidance to be heard in the land.

The first is the story of a man who probably represents the finest type that America has yet produced. He was brought up in the state of Maine, that land of pine-trees and granite rocks, wild roses and a restless sea. In its sun warmth and under its free skies he grew up without fear or favor, stalwart of figure, slow of speech, keen-eyed, with that humorous, shrewd appreciation of human foibles so characteristic of the sons of that democratic state.

I left school to go to work when I was eleven years old, he said. I

got all my education in the little red schoolhouse and in the school of life—and a great school that was, too. We didn't have anything but reading, writing and arithmetic, and an occasional whipping in the little red schoolhouse, but outside we got hard knocks. I remember I began as a clerk in a country store. I had to do everything in that store. Pretty soon I knew everybody in the village. I had a whack at everything going—fooled around the carpenter shop (it kind of fascinated me), hung around the blacksmith shop after hours, and did a little farming for Farmer Higgins before the store opened. I'll never forget when I was doing odd jobs for the old man. The bull got acting up and I caught him by the tail. Whew! Only thing I remember after that was old Higgins saying solemnly to me, "Remember, my son, always to seize the horns of a difficulty—never the tail." Well, I could turn my hand to about anything in that village. We had good times, too. There was the baseball team, and there were the church sociables, the husking bees and the skating in winter.

By seventeen I was running that store, and then another boy and I went into partnership and started one of our own. I'll never forget how proud I was when I saw my name on the sign-board. We moved to a small town, but we didn't lose our old customers, because I got a horse and buggy and took orders all over the countryside. Just before the Civil War we moved up to Boston. I gave up the store business and went into manufacturing. I had always been fond of machinery, used to tinker with tools around the farm, and pretty soon I worked out a machine that saved time in our business, and that landed me in New York.

Yes, it was hard work, all of it, but somehow in those days we always had time for another side of life—for sitting on the village bridge in the moonlight spouting poetry, and for lying in the fields in summer swapping yarns, or for sitting hunched up over the open fire in winter telling each other how we were going to be Daniel Websters. It was good fun—life was, then. If you worked hard it was your own fault, but somehow you wanted to work because you kept discovering things faster than you could say "Jack Robinson." But boys aren't like what they used to be. They don't seem to have any ambition.

The second boy lived about fifty years after the first boy was born. His home was on the lower west side of New York city, the great manufacturing center of the city. It is the region of giant factories with hundreds of workers, and of huge tenements with a bewildering multitude of families. Most of the things

that the boy eats or wears or plays with are made here, and these things are also made for hundreds of thousands of other boys and girls and men and women all over the country. It is, at the same time, more like a village than any other part of the city. It is a place of winding, irregular streets, quiet, sunny side-streets of playing boys and girls, and unexpected horse-cars; streets of roaring "elevateds" and congested truck traffic. And on these streets you come suddenly upon beautiful old colonial mansions whose exquisitely simple carved doorways give dignified, noncommittal entrance to bare, chill, dirty halls and filthy rooms of human-hair factories, or to the alien rooms of an Italian family of eight. It is the district of contrasts. It is the region of small neighborhood stores—the cosy, ground-floor corner shoe-shops crowded by paper-box factories, one of whose wagon-loads carries boxes for more shoes than the old spectacled shoemaker makes in a year; of picturesque Italian restaurants, and of huge food factories; of push-cart "underwear at twenty cents," and shirtwaist factories with nine hundred workers; of small printing shops standing in the shadow of towering publishing houses.

Did the boy in this village, living only fifty years later than the first boy, "get a whack at everything?" Did he know everybody, get a friendly initiation into all the activities of the neighborhood, and have time for reading and "spouting poetry" and sitting in the moonlight talking, bright-eyed, of how he was going to be a great man? Here apparently were simple village activities side by side with the great modern machinery of industry. Could he not start in the small shop and "work up" to the big factories? Had he not even a better opportunity than the first boy to pick and choose different lines of work among the small employers, and then advance, a self-respecting, well-equipped workman, to the larger establishments?

The walk down Sullivan street to West Third, along West Broadway, Prince, and Macdougal to the boy's home is sufficient to answer those questions. It is true that the factory and the small shop exist together, but they exist side by side with no gradation from one to the other. The small shop is there, but it is merely a picturesque bit of local color fast fading in the

shadow of towering factories which crowd it for room. The factory is the dominant reality. The vibration of its whirring machinery is felt throughout the village. You get a sudden gust of it as a door is unexpectedly opened. You feel the reverberation of it as you ascend the stairs of an old dwelling turned into a sweatshop. The dust from it blinds and chokes you. It has entered into the spirit of the small shop so that although to all appearances it is the oldtime village shop, it has been fundamentally changed and no longer has time to offer anything to the boy in the way of education. The machine has entered into the nerves of the people. It pervades everything. The whole place is speeded up. A friend of the boy tried working in a small neighborhood shop, but he had "to stay all hours," as the employer tried desperately to make profit out of his customers, who had only the evening for shopping because their hours in the factory were so long. The taint of the factory and the drive of the factory is in the home-work and changes the home into a place where father and mother and small children speed up far into the night on the making of flower after flower—at three cents a gross!

What happens to a boy in this village when he leaves school to go to work? What kind of work does he take up? When I first saw the boy whose story I am relating here, he was in his home, a "new-law" tenement, with stone floors and iron stairs, "like a prison." It was a well-to-do place, for it had push buttons and speaking-tubes. You passed six families on every floor, as you climbed to the boy's apartment—a place of much furniture and sprawling children, a mother bending over artificial flowers, and a father sitting reading the newspaper with his hat on. The boy is an American, although one parent was born in Europe. He is fourteen years old, and he left the great gray school building down the street because he "didn't like to study." The family were both able and willing to keep him in school, but "It's like this," said the mother; "if he doesn't *want* to go to school and doesn't want to study, we thought he might play truant, and it would be better for him to work, and besides, it's time he learned something." The boy said he didn't like school, but he didn't dislike it. When

asked what studies he had taken, he said, "the regular ones." He had lost interest at about the fourth grade. He liked shop-work but didn't have it until the seventh grade, and by that time he had already made his plans for leaving school.

During the six months after he left he worked in six different places, staying from one day to six weeks in each. He certainly did "have a whack" at many things, but in a different way from our first boy. The latter worked on the farm before breakfast. The former "helped on the wagon of a milk delivery concern," starting at one a. m. and helping to lift off cans at the ferry until ten a. m. It was out-of-door work, but on pavements in the midst of city sounds and smells. He was paid \$4.50 a week, but left because he didn't like the night work.

He wandered around for a week and a half, and then found work in a printing house because he "knew a feller there," and thought it a good chance. Here was a real trade, something to study, with definite steps of advancement. What did this boy, who had no influence or training, learn there? He "pulled out" and "slip-sheeted." "You see," he said, "each press has its own feeder. But as the sheets come out they must be piled just so, with a sheet in between each one—something like blotting paper. This is 'slipsheeting.' Then when they are dry, another boy piles them again, taking out the slip sheets. That is 'pulling out.'" In spite of the monotony, he liked the work and was trying to pick it up when the blight of the slack season, that terror of modern industry, descended upon the trade, and he was laid off.

For a month, he did not try for work at all because he knew that everything was slack, but finally got a position in an artificial flower house, coloring flowers. "I stuck them in the dyes, and then held them up and squeezed out the dye, but I left because I didn't like the place. The dye gets on your hands and you can hardly get it off. It smells awful."

For three weeks he "walked around" and looked in the paper for jobs. He tried five or six places, "but they didn't need a boy, and there were always twenty ahead of me." At last he "got into a human-hair place," but left at the end of

fifteen days because he didn't like the trade. "I didn't have no patience with it. I'd rather be something like a plumber's helper or a carpenter's helper, something where you could use your arms, and not just your fingers." He worked there nine hours a day and got the same wages as in the first position. When last heard from he was in a "novelty place." He had told an employment bureau that he wanted something where he could learn a trade. He works on a copper buckle or badge. He cuts out the sheet copper in a proper pattern with heavy scissors. Then he pounds the metal upon a mold made of "like it was heavy lead." He stands all day for nine hours doing this. When asked if he liked it, he said hesitatingly, "Yes, I like it, but the work is too heavy. I got five blisters the first day from using the scissors to cut some brass. And you stand up from morning till night. You never get a rest. It's a man's work. I think he ought to pay me more." He was receiving \$5.

And what are his good times? Well, he, too belongs to a baseball team, which plays at Dyckman street in the summer—ten miles away from where he lives. Instead of sociables and husking bees, he goes to moving pictures, but he "likes to stay home pretty well," where the family of seven lives in four rooms. He wanted to know "how you can learn a trade."

What do these two stories mean? I should say that they mean two things: first, that in this country we have telescoped centuries in a night with the result that one day we were living in the village of the first boy, and the next were being whirled through the city of the second; second, that in the midst of these lightning-like changes, one thing has been consistently and constantly overlooked, and that is education. The causes of both these facts can be traced to American conditions and the American temperament.

It is a curious fact that it is taken for granted that Americans have always been devoted to education. They have not been. They have been devoted to school systems. These school systems have been started in accordance with a theory of education whose postulates Americans have never examined until

recently. It was as though the early Pilgrim Fathers, standing on Plymouth Rock and observing the wilderness to be conquered, had said: "Here is a great practical task to be accomplished, but before embarking on it we must remember that, for a democracy, education of all the people is necessary. Schools must be erected." Whereupon, schools were erected as they have been since the middle ages. Teachers and pupils were put into them and then the early fathers, taking a long breath at having that out of the way, went about the real business of making a success of the country, trusting that the schools would turn out citizens for the new republic. It is interesting to observe the results.

It makes very little difference how a child gets his education, provided it is a real one, one that cultivates in one the habit of thinking for himself. The early Greek initiation into the duties of citizenship was probably the best system of education that ever existed. And in some ways the conditions of life in New England in the early days resembled it a good deal. The boy in the first story got a real education. He took part in all the community activities. He could run the village and the store because he had shared all its duties. He knew its history. His father and his father's father had helped to make the state where he lived. In his work on the farm, in the blacksmith shop, in the carpenter shop, he came to know by doing the fundamental work by which every community is built up. And in this way he found his own bent by trying himself out at various things. He received an education not because of, but in spite of the little red schoolhouse. That had as little connection with his real life as it did with the real life of the second boy. Any-one who comes of a line of New Englanders knows that school meant to his fathers a small square room with the beckoning fields outside, inexplicable tasks, much-whittled desks and a dash for recess and freedom. But out of the real school, the village life, came a race of shrewd Yankees, young with the energy and optimism of youth in a new country. Conquering the country was to them a high adventure, good sport. With native smartness and inventiveness, the generation that had been trained on the farm turned to creating cities. They

passed industrial epochs at a bound, and had the youthful strength to stand the strain. They covered centuries in a decade, and had breath left to shout. They had the vigor that comes from having lived close to the soil. But the multitudes flowed into these cities that had been built for them; and, behold, New York city is a towering, menacing fact. Within this city there has grown up a generation that lives on what has been made for it. Here is the great inexplicable city where they are whirled, jerked, rushed through existence, where they are shot down into subways and up in elevators, where they find themselves climbing stairs by machinery, and whisking lunch off moving tables.

In this maelstrom the children are tossed about like chips. They have been forgotten in the rush for "making good." The perplexing thing to them is that all about them they are told that they are not "what boys used to be." Here, they learn, is one great man that "began at eleven and worked up by his own efforts." Or, "In my day a boy was always finding a better and quicker way of doing his job. He took an interest in it. There was my brother. He was in the shoe business. He had to work a machine using both hands. Well, one day the head of the firm came along and found him sitting there with his machine going by itself. But boys aren't like that nowadays." Or, they are told that "what you want to do is to learn the business from start to finish. That is what my father did, and now he is the richest man in the city." Well, that is what they want to do. But they do not find it possible. The modern boy of our story was not lazy—any more than most of us. He was ambitious to learn a trade. He wanted "something where you can use your arms;" he "would like to be a carpenter's helper." But when he did get into a trade, in the first place he not only had a very small unrelated task to do, but the rush was so great that he could have no eyes for anything but the pulling-out and slip-sheeting; and because of this same rush, the slack season cut short his chances of learning the trade. In the other place, the value of any training that he might get was rendered questionable by the fact that he had to stand all day for nine hours doing a man's work, after which he

went home along the noisy, clangng streets to a noisy, crowded home. He simply did not have the chance of the first boy.

Instead of entering the village store the New York boy may go into a department store and sit in the basement watching check slips shot down through a tube and shot up again. On the floors above, among the tramping feet, the department store lavishes its wares in subdivision after subdivision of luxury. "Work up," "learn the business," in that maze which he never touches except at the end of a tube? If such a boy is an American with some lack of respect for established order, he leaves in contempt and "walks around" until he finds another job, and continues until he succumbs or is thrown aside. If he is of the great army of immigrants who are even more persuaded than our own people that this is a land of opportunity and education, he stays, believing that in this land of promise this job must lead somewhere. Industry is a tube, a needle, a foot-press, to the average worker. He does not know what there is, or how to get it. His work, to such a boy, is represented by a sidedoor elevator in which he rides at his own risk, a military row of heads bowed over machines or desks, a flash, a whirr, a tired back and a desire to leave.

As long as the community life gave real education, the state could without danger let the school remain the repository of inexplicable truth, but to the extent to which the state fails to order its social and industrial life so that the children may participate in the fundamental community activities, to that extent we must see to it that special institutions are set apart for the special purpose of giving these children some understanding of the life in which they find themselves. The more complex conditions become, the more imperative this need is, and it is a need that will be increasingly felt in this country, for it is useless to expect that conditions will become less complex. The history of America, and of civilization in general, does not warrant such an expectation. But it is consistent with the history of human achievement to expect that we may develop, along with this increasing complexity, the power to control it by analyzing and understanding it. This is the function of education in a highly developed civilization.

But the state in our country has, so far, failed to recognize that fact. It fails to supply schools for training in good citizenship and good workmanship; and it fails because its people have always neglected to articulate their mental life and their "practical" life. The division between the school and life is important, but even more important is the fact that the division is due to the fundamental separation that there has always been in America between "practical" life and the life of speculative thought. The following words of Santayana in regard to our philosophic system will express my point better than any words of mine, for education is, of course, only the expression of a nation's philosophy:

America is a country with two mentalities, one a survival of the beliefs and standards of the fathers, the other an expression of the instincts, practise and discoveries of the younger generation. In all the higher things of the mind—in religion, in literature, in the moral emotions—it is the hereditary spirit that still prevails, so much so that Bernard Shaw finds that America is a hundred years behind the times. The truth is that one-half of the American mind, that not occupied intensely in practical affairs, has remained, I will not say high-and-dry, but slightly becalmed; it has floated gently in the backwater, while, alongside, in invention and industry and social organization, the other half of the mind was leaping down a sort of Niagara Rapids. . . . The one is all aggressive enterprise; the other is all genteel tradition.¹

If this hypothesis is true, and I believe it is, and if the foregoing stories are typical of conditions, and I believe they are, one or two things become clear in regard to the movement for vocational guidance. It is evident that it has its roots in a maladjustment deeper and more fundamental than is at first apparent. If the lives of these two boys and the analysis prove anything, they prove that the present clash exists because since the beginning of our history we have kept our educational life and our practical life in separate compartments, so that now when they need one another they do not know how to talk to each other. It is not the fault of the schools.

¹ *The Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy*, p. 4.
(576)

It is the fault of the American temperament, which has always been content with the "genteel tradition" in its thinking life.

The foregoing is not meant to be a mere psychological analysis. It has a direct, practical bearing upon the question of vocational guidance. Americans are never going to be content with the "genteel tradition" when it really gets in their way. As long as it is on the shelf and is only taken down on Sundays and holidays, it can be sentimentalized over with safety, but when it begins to interfere with Monday morning's work in the office, it has to go. It is beginning to do just that. What is going to be put in its place? What is going to take the place of the school of our fathers?

One of three things may happen. In the first place, we may carry our real, every-day philosophy to its logical, practical conclusion. The business man, who is America, may say:

Yes, the schools are not related to life. This will never do. We must relate them to life. Trade in New York city in the year 1912 is life. Therefore, train children for earning their living in trade in New York city in 1912. Never mind about what went before or what is coming after. Guide them into vocations now. I want twenty boys for my machine shops.

If that point of view prevails, we shall have short-course trade schools, and vocational guidance will be a bureau for giving advice about vocations.

Or we may fall back upon the omnipresent sentimentality of the practical man—another fungus of the "genteel tradition"—and say:

This state of affairs is pathetic. What are we going to do with these children that school cannot hold? It's no use talking about keeping them in school. They will not stay. You cannot make the schools attractive. The boys and girls want to help their parents. Their unselfishness should not be discouraged. Let us find work for them. I need twenty boys in my machine shops.

In that case vocational guidance becomes a regular employment bureau for placing children in positions.

Either answer to the problem is dangerous because both, continuing the American tradition, slight the problem of education. The first would provide a "practical" school adapted to the needs of to-day; but with trade conditions changing so rapidly, such a school would fail to meet even the demands of its own time. The second would simply swell the ranks of that army of workers which, caught in the pressure of city life, is not educated either by the normal community activities or by the school.

Vocational guidance must face the fact that it must be, in justice to the child, a problem in education. Since the school does not really educate, and since the community no longer educates, one or the other must be made to educate. It is impossible to simplify the complexity or stay the heedless rush of New York industrial life. It is the school which we must grapple with. It must be given an opportunity to take the place of that simple village life which, in its variety and in its demand for personal service, instructed a generation for whom there was no need of vocational guidance. This is the third answer to the problem, and might be stated concretely as follows:

It is true that the schools are not related to life, and that consequently the children are leaving them in alarming numbers. It is difficult to hold them there, but it is not impossible. To do that, however, we must recognize that our schools have never really educated, and consequently that they must be reorganized from the beginning. Tacking on six-months trade courses will not help matters.

There is reason to hope that such an answer may prevail, because if America has been medieval in its school systems, it has also produced one of the greatest educators of the century, one who analyzed American tendencies and the flaws in American education long before the present agitation for reform. He has, in fact, made it possible for the call for such reconstruction to come from the schoolmen themselves, as it is coming. If his school of thought prevails, we shall have the solution of the problem in his definition of the training of a child. Says John Dewey:

The child is to be not only a voter and a subject of law ; he is also to be a member of a family. He is to be a worker, engaged in some occupation which will be of use to society and which will maintain his own independence and self-respect. He is to be a member of some particular neighborhood and community, and must contribute to the decencies and graces of civilization wherever he is To suppose that a good citizen is anything more than a thoroughly efficient and serviceable member of society is a cramped superstition which it is hoped may soon disappear from educational discussion.

If this third answer, involving the socializing rather than the mechanizing of the school, carries the day, what will be the school of the future, and what place in its development is there for vocational guidance? Can vocational guidance be more than a warning cry that such a newer type of school is needed? Can it be of practical assistance in making this school a reality?

Before considering that point, I should like to draw attention again to the fact that the lack of educational advance is due not to the school but to the blind optimism of the American taxpayer in regard to the established order of education. Convinced as he is that he only has to give money for schools as they always have been, he opposes a polite but solid front of uncomprehending disapproval to innovation or what he calls "fads." There is an interesting illustration of this fact in the history of the New York public schools. In the beginning of the manual training movement, as soon as the practicability of manual training had been proved to the satisfaction of the ablest educators, the superintendent of schools advocated the starting of such classes in the public schools. He has only gradually secured them from a grudging public, and even now has not so many as he wants and he has none for grades lower than the seventh. In the year 1911, the budget for the board of education was cut, thereby crippling the work so laboriously built up. Again, the public has been slowly worked up to an appreciation of the need of classes for defectives. Excellent and beneficial as that is to the children as a whole, perhaps even more important from a constructive point of view is the campaign that the city superintendent has now started for the more ade-

quate education of the normal children. In his report this year, he advocated the establishment of more vocational schools, and the inauguration of continuation schools—a recommendation in line with the most progressive thought of the times. It will be interesting to see how long he will have to make this demand before the city will permit such schools in New York. It is a curious fact that, in spite of such widespread progressive movements upon the part of educators, the school systems are still attacked as behind the times, while appropriations for courses consistent with development along progressive lines are only reluctantly and protestingly granted. Criticism is much easier than going down into one's pocket for the large expenditure necessary for such changes. If the American is to give up the "genteel tradition," he must see the value of spending ten times as much on education as he now spends.

In spite of the indifference of the average citizen, however, there are two clearly defined progressive movements in the school in connection with which vocational guidance can render real service. They are the movement for the establishment of vocational and continuation schools, and that for the "six and six plan." Both movements involve a real upheaval of present arrangements. To be effective, they must be founded upon accurate, concrete knowledge of present conditions and tendencies, and such knowledge cannot be secured in a short time. And the schools have a very limited amount of time to give to such work, as they are already overburdened with the task of carrying on the machinery of the present educational system. The tendency under these conditions would be, therefore, to secure information from those to whom trade training and the supply of workers is of practical importance, *i. e.*, the employers. But it would not be wise to take the word merely of those who have private interests at stake. The information should be secured by someone who can go into the matter thoroughly enough to get the suggestions of both employers and working men, and reduce them to an impartial statement of facts on which to base action. Therefore, the school authorities have the right to demand of the state the services of a bureau not outside but within the school system, whose business it

shall be to collect information which will enable them to carry on these two reconstructive movements in accordance with the facts of present conditions and sound educational theory. Such, in my opinion, is at present the function of a vocational guidance bureau. It would really be a School Bureau of Vocational Information and would give guidance of the most fundamental kind, that is, guidance in this readjustment between education and industry, by getting information about vocations interpreted in their most social sense.

And what shall its practical work be? To explain that, I must go back a moment to a description of the two lines of progressive reconstruction mentioned above—the movement for vocational schools and the suggested revision of the curriculum in accordance with the "six and six" plan. Because the American people are likely to ignore the educational opportunities in the industrial demand, there is the gravest possible danger that plans for changes in the curriculum advocated in the "six and six" plan and in the vocational schools may be too narrow in scope. A School Bureau of Vocational Information may forestall that danger. To illustrate, the "six and six" plan will probably develop in one of three principal ways. The proposition is, as I understand it, to cover the ground that is now covered in eight years of elementary schooling, in six years, so that the children will finish the general course in what is now the sixth grade. That means that normally they would finish that grade at twelve years of age. Actually, of course, many children in the sixth grade are fourteen years old. However, assuming that under this new plan there would be less retardation, let us divide the next six years into two-year groups. The course for the children from twelve to fourteen years of age might then be divided into industrial and commercial departments, which would have a common denominator of general studies with perhaps one third of the time in each department devoted to special trade or commercial work. In this arrangement, boys and girls would probably be segregated, the boys taking trade or commercial courses particularly fitted to them, and the girls those for which it is considered that their capabilities make them fit. According to this plan, the children during the next

two years, from fourteen to sixteen, might devote their whole time to a study of the special trade or course which the previous two years had convinced them they preferred. They could spend two or four years on such a course, depending upon the time at their disposal and the degree of training necessary.

On the other hand, the "six and six" plan might result in a general course up to the sixth grade, with a general vocational course from twelve years to fourteen years of age, with no division of the work into industrial and commercial, or into that for boys and that for girls, with special vocational work from fourteen to sixteen, or fourteen to eighteen. Such a plan would be based on the assumption that it is untrue to the facts of present-day life to divide courses into industrial and commercial, as well as educationally unsound to predetermine a child's bent at twelve years of age. It would also assume that to divide courses into boys' work and girls' work is to cling to an outworn prejudice rather than to recognize the facts of actual life which record that women are at work in all but three of the occupations recognized by the census in which men are engaged, and therefore need training for all of them just as boys do. As Mr. Arthur D. Dean has said: "We must definitely fit her for the work which she has chosen in the productive and distributive fields of labor. Work here she will, and all the brooms of good people will not sweep back the tide." The special vocational courses under this plan could be carried on in one of two ways: (1) By full-day vocational courses in the schools from fourteen to sixteen, or fourteen to eighteen, according to the training necessary, or (2) By half-time work in the schools and half-time in the shops, from fourteen to sixteen, or fourteen to eighteen.

There is a third possibility in this "six and six" plan. Experiment may show that the kind of school outlined by Professor John Dewey in *The School and Society* offers the most practical method of correcting the maladjustment at present existing between the school and society. The more one reads that small and unostentatious-looking book, and the more one goes out into the streets and tenements and factories and playgrounds, where the great mass of children in a city like New York live

and work and play, the more one is convinced that in that little volume is outlined the most practical and economic method of meeting the maladjustment that makes the cry for vocational guidance possible, because the author provides for the teaching of those community activities the lack of which in the child's life we have discovered to be the cause of the maladjustment.

Whichever way the "six and six" plan is interpreted, there is one other point of primary importance to be determined. If one of the first two plans goes through, and children finish their general course at twelve years of age, or in the sixth grade, is there any danger of the law being changed to permit them to leave school for work at twelve years, or will there be a law compelling all children to attend school either half-time or full-time up to sixteen years of age—in the first case receiving training in a trade, part of the time in the shop and part in the school; in the second case spending all the time in the school? This of course brings us into connection with the second movement for reconstruction, that is, the vocational and continuation-school plans. It is evident that this general and special school revision cannot be divorced. The children who go into vocational and continuation schools are coming out of the general elementary schools. How is the vocational to supplement the general school? That depends upon how we interpret education and industry. A School Bureau of Vocational Information could do much to make that interpretation sound by supplying data for it.

In connection with what group of young workers shall we get these data? There are three groups of children, and three types of school, for which such a bureau might work: (1) Elementary schools and children, including the fourteen to sixteen-year-old children who first leave school to go to work; (2) Secondary, or high schools, and the group of children from fourteen to eighteen; (3) The eighteen to twenty-one year old group of children in technical or trade courses. It would be difficult to say which is the most important. The first group appeals to me as the most important, because ultimately, to help the last two, we shall have to change conditions for the first, and also because the reconstruction mentioned above

centers about this group. There is one piece of work in this group which it is of immediate importance for a bureau to carry on, and that is an investigation of trades. There are certain points upon which we already know that we need information before we can be sure that we are constructing trade schools on the right lines. For example, there is at present a discussion of the relative value of trade training given in all-day vocational schools, and that given in half-time schools, *i. e.*, half time in the school and half time in the shop.

There are a number of facts that must be ascertained before we can decide that point. Such facts can be divided roughly into three groups: (1) The kind of trades to be taught in either all-day or half-day vocational schools. (2) The kind of pre-vocational schooling that will be necessary if the pupils are to master the vocational work in the allotted time. (3) The state supervision of the conditions under which the work is done. The following are a few of the questions that might be considered under each head:

I. The Kind of Trades to be Taught.

a. What trades is the state justified in spending the money and the time to teach in either type of school?

b. What is a "blind-alley" occupation? What is a skilled trade? Is the state justified in training children for paper-box-making, for example? Or is it justified in training them for industries that demand only specialized workers on subdivided processes of subdivisions of trades? Would there be any danger of systematically preparing workers for pieces of work which, in the rapid changes in industry, might be obsolete in five or ten years? Would the state, in that case, recruit the army of unemployables which it has to take care of in other state departments? But if such narrowly specialized workers represent the majority demanded by industry, what are the schools—which necessarily plan for the majority—going to do about it? Give up the fight for training citizens, and train "hands?" Or shall we say that if that is the kind of worker that industry wants, it is not the kind of man that the state wants, and that, even if he has to go into such work, he shall at

least know why; shall know the industrial development that led up to the present conditions, whether they are likely to last, and in what direction they are tending so that he shall not have the feeling of blind bewilderment of the second boy of our story? In that case, what is industry going to say?

c. Is it true, on the contrary, that the tendency in certain industries is toward the invention of machines so complicated that instead of the mechanical machine tender they demand the services of a highly skilled man with all-round knowledge? If so, what effect will this have upon the development of general and vocational schools? Could preparation for such trades be better taught by half-time work in the shops?

d. Again, does the increasing complexity and unity in variety of actual trade conditions point to the fact that our present classification of trades is antiquated? Would it be possible to construct curricula on the basis of the social need to be satisfied rather than on the basis of individual crafts? In that case, of course, the newer callings which take the place of an older trade in the construction of something always in demand, such as houses, for example, would be a part of the trade taught. What effect would this have not only upon the school curricula, but upon irregularity of employment, slack seasons, rules of apprenticeship and similar matters?

II. The Kind of Pre-Vocational Schooling Necessary.

If this careful, thorough training in trade is to be given, what kind of pre-vocational work must there be? Would the opportunity to handle tools generally in studying the different community activities—development of industry, for example, of weaving, carpentry, mechanics—give a boy a general familiarity with tools without which he would not be able to master a trade so rapidly?

III. State Supervision of Conditions under which Children Work.

Even if we get all these facts about the trade, how is the state to make sure that the children will work under conditions not inimical to health?

Such might be the general outline of one task of such a

bureau. This conception of vocational guidance as a kind of School Bureau of Vocational Information will probably not appeal to the majority so much as the idea of an advice bureau or of an employment bureau. Its task is not so definite as that of an employment bureau nor has it the popular emotional appeal of an advice bureau. Such an interpretation of the cry for vocational guidance is to me, however, more consistent with the history of its rise, and is likely to yield results of more lasting benefit. I believe that, if we hold to this idea, we shall "seize the horns rather than the tail of the difficulty." Of course, the chief obstacle to putting such an interpretation into effect is that the analysis of the situation and of the American character, upon which the interpretation is based, is addressed to an American audience, and for the very reason given in the analysis, the average American business man who gives the first answer to the problem is likely to brush aside this interpretation as theoretical, thus of course proving my point and condemning us to the inevitable fruition of the "genteel tradition."

If, however, this interpretation is accepted, we may perhaps have a third type of boy in the future—one who had all the varied training of the village boy, but who received it in a school where he, too, began to use his hands and eyes and ears as early as five years of age; in which he learned by taking part in all the fundamental activities of human life, studying geography as the science of man's relation to the earth, not as a complex chart of capitals and rivers, countries with exports and imports in a paragraph on the right-hand side of the one hundred and twentieth page; studying history as the interpretation of the present life on the island of Manhattan, for example, not as an unending succession of battles and maneuvers, dates and great men; and English as the art of communication of ideas and thoughts upon which our very existence is dependent, not as a perplexing text-book of adverbs and adjectives, or as the works of great men which we are told we ought to admire—and do not. In such a school he would work in wood and metal, at the forge and in the printing shop, neither in order to become "all-round" nor to learn a trade, but in order to get a preliminary knowledge of the fundamental facts of the industrial and

social activities whose later, more complex expressions lie all about him, and from which, when he leaves school, he has to pick and choose his own work. In other words, such a boy would receive real education because he would learn to think, learn to put two and two together. Perhaps in that case he and the generation that follows will not get into such a tangle as the one we are in; will, in truth, have learned so that it is second nature to them, that no one thinks until he has to, but that a nation advances as its imagination becomes sufficiently sensitive, its powers of intellectual analysis sufficiently keen and its capacity for reaction sufficiently vital to foretell when things are about to go wrong, and act upon that foresight.

(587)

LABOR OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN TENEMENTS¹

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY

General Secretary National Consumers' League

TWO tasks of great difficulty confront those who are trying to prevent the labor of women and children in tenement houses. They are difficult because they are fundamental.

The first is to induce the court of appeals of the state of New York to reverse itself, to reverse the opinion which has fastened the curse and blight of tenement-house work upon this city since the year 1888. In that year the court decided that the attempt to prohibit tenement-house work in the interest of the health of the people who do the work cannot be sustained as a legitimate use of the police power.

When that decision was handed down people did not understand, as they do now, the communicability of disease, the relation of excessive fatigue of the workers to disease, or the relation of home work to excessive fatigue of women and children. We have now a body of new knowledge available for the use of the court of appeals. Our first task is to give wide publicity to the disease-breeding conditions of manufacture in the tenements, thus leading the legislature to make a fresh attempt at outright prohibition, at the same time making it possible for the court of appeals gracefully to reverse itself. Until that is done, all attempts at regulation of manufacture in tenements are illusory; they simply lull the public conscience vainly and cruelly, when it ought to be alert and militant.

The second task is to imitate Massachusetts in creating a state commission to examine into the wages paid women and children who work in the tenements, with a view to securing minimum wage boards in all those industries that overflow into tenement houses.

We have at present forty industries for which licenses are required before work can be done in a tenement house; but we

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.

know of sixty-two additional industries carried on in the tenements for which no license is required. There are over thirteen thousand houses licensed as work shops, and in order really to control them we ought to have twenty-six thousand inspectors, an inspector in each house all day and all night. Without this, all inspection of tenement-house work is illusory.

The Massachusetts method is to make it so expensive as to be unprofitable to employ workers in the tenements. The commission has made its report, the bill has been favorably reported out of committee and is now before the legislature. The members of the commission are hopeful that it may pass. When our legislature meets next year we shall have an object lesson, here at home, such as has existed in England for two years, and for seventeen years in Australia, of this method of dealing with home work by requiring that home workers shall receive compensation not only for the work they do, but for the relief they afford the manufacturer in the rent, heat, light, cleaning, supervision and transportation of materials and finished products. Where that has been done the joy of the manufacturer in the overflow work has been damped, and he has been encouraged to supply sufficient room for carrying on the work under his own responsible supervision, without the intervention of the great mass of sweaters who batten upon our tenement industry.

In the opinion of the organization which I represent, these are the two difficult and essential next steps to be taken—the reversal of the decision of the court of appeals, and the establishment of a Minimum Wage Boards Commission in this state.

(589)

TWO NATIONAL SOCIAL NEEDS¹

WASHINGTON GLADDEN

Columbus, Ohio

AMONG our national social needs is the need of a better understanding among the sections of the nation. Our land has grown so wide and sections are so far apart that they are likely to develop separate interests and jealousies and conflicts. Some of us are old enough to remember the growth of sectional feeling between North and South, and what came of it. There are those who say that that conflict was necessary and inevitable. I do not believe it. It might have been averted by a moderate degree of reasonableness and goodwill on both sides. The nation could have paid for the slaves at a tithe of the cost of the Civil War in money, to say nothing of the waste of the best manhood of the land and the engendering of race antagonisms which still threaten our peace. If we had only been willing to reason together, and to bear one another's burdens, we could have saved ourselves mountains of misery.

Between East and West there are now possibilities of similar sectional conflicts. The East is the lender, and the West is the borrower. "The borrower is the servant of the lender," as the wise man says, and that servitude is sometimes unwelcome. Yet it ought to be a relation of friendship and co-operation. So it may be if we will take thought for the things that make for friendship and peace. Yet one who lives midway between the East and the West is sometimes pained to see how each misinterprets the other, and is often constrained to wish for a better understanding between them. I cannot help regarding this as one of our vital national social needs.

The other national need of which I would speak is a clearly defined national social purpose. I doubt if the ideal with which

¹ Discussion at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.

our fathers set out is adequate to-day to command and organize and unify our national social life. It is true that their watch-word was democracy, but democracy as they conceived it was simply the child of liberty. Make way for liberty, and democracy was sure to follow. A free field for endeavor the state must furnish. Within that field men must be let alone to work out their fortunes. I do not mean that this was the whole of the political philosophy of the fathers, but they put the emphasis on this, and their faith was strong that liberty was the sovereign solution of all social problems. We have come to the point where we can see that this idea must be greatly expanded, and perhaps subordinated to a higher idea. It is beginning to be evident that our nation has a larger and worthier task than merely to set the people free. It must show them how to work together for the common good. The ideal state is not one that is content to form a ring, to furnish ropes and an umpire, to formulate rules of the game, and then invite its citizens to go in for a free fight. It is one which assumes rather that the normal relations of men are those of coöperation instead of conflict, and that the business of the state is not to furnish a ring for a struggle, but to assist and foster and direct all useful and practicable coöperations. This is not saying that all industries shall be managed collectively, for I doubt if that is possible. Many of them can best be left to individual initiative, but many of the most important of them are managed now by the coöperation of all of us through the commonwealth, and that number will surely be considerably increased. I am thinking not so much of the economic as of the social aspects of this problem. Rather, I mean that the social aspects must take precedence in our national thinking. The human fact is first, the economic fact second. We are brothers before we are competitors. On the deck of the *Titanic* we get down to primal relations. Competition is barred. We are helpers one of another. That is what makes civilization possible, and it is this great truth which must be recognized and made fundamental in national life. All our commonwealths must be based on right human relations. Not strife, but good will, is the regulative principle of human society.

RECREATION AND YOUTH¹

DR. LUTHER H. GULICK

RECREATION I shall discuss from two standpoints. First, from the standpoint of social engineering, I

propose to consider a definite plan of a constructive character which has been put into operation. This plan has endeavored to correlate the various human incentives to activity with the known methods of social progress, in order to discover whether a social organization could be made so large that it would reach a great portion of all the girls of America, so simple that average people could run it, and so beautiful that the girls would want to enter it, not because it was good but because it was beautiful and romantic. So far as I know, nothing of this precise kind has ever before been attempted, and as a pure experiment in the field of social engineering it is perhaps worthy of consideration.

The second standpoint is that of the philosophy of construction as contrasted with the philosophy of prevention. No living mountain stream can be dammed with safety, no matter what devastation the spring freshets may bring. The evil will only be accentuated by damming, and the disaster made greater. The only thing worth while that can be done is to provide a better bed for the stream.

Human instincts and desires are the great flowing streams of human life. It is not to be considered that human instincts and desires should be dammed, lest they go astray and do damage. Damming them only produces added devastation.

The Chicago vice report was a strong and able piece of work, but to my mind utterly hopeless. To spend serious time and effort in this day and generation surveying the amount of damage which comes because a great stream has broken its dam and is devastating the country below it, to measure the amount

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.

of the devastation and resolve merely to build bigger and better dams against the evil is fatuous. The tremendous task society must perform is to find out what constitute wholesome relations between men and women under the new conditions of our cities. Boys and girls no longer have the wholesome things to do in the community which during all ages they have had to do; that is, we have put up the dams. We all know well enough that broken dams make endless waste. Our effort and our skill must be devoted to finding means whereby the splendid instinctive feelings of life may have splendid course. It is not merely that the river must be prevented from doing harm, but the water of life itself must not be wasted, because our desires, our hopes, our ambitions, the things we love, constitute life itself. It is not eating nor working nor sleeping that makes life significant; it is the things that we desire, the things that we hope for, the adventure of life itself.

Because of the machine, and the necessary routine ways of working due to the machine, life for a great many people has become full of drudgery, and against steady drudgery human life revolts. At a recent meeting in Cooper Union a young man in the audience told how he went to bed every night, slept, got up every morning and went to work, back home again at night and to bed, and that was all of life there was for him. That represents the possible attainment of life for a large fraction of our population, but that is not living. Adventure is the fundamental thing of the soul. Without brilliant color in living, without possible human attainment, aside from drudgery, life appears insignificant.

The movement of which I speak, the Campfire Girls, is an attempt to show that romance and adventure belong to every day. The old days of physical adventure have gone for most of us. Present-day adventure must be in the social field, the most available unexplored world. If we can provide ways in which adventure can count in connection with everyday work, we may help direct the flow of the powerful streams of human instinct, those tremendous streams which lead boys and girls in their teens to want to know each other. Merely to try to prevent the bad dance-hall and to dam up the other channels of

this kind without giving attention to the providing of a new and better bed for the stream is inadequate. This movement is an attempt to find adventure related to daily life in the everyday world.

When a girl appears before her Campfire and reports that she has learned to make ten standard soups; or that she is able to recognize fifteen kinds of birds by their songs; or that she can describe three kinds of baby cries and tell the cause of each;—things which are equally matters of scientific observation—or that she has walked forty miles in ten days, walking to and from the office or in the woods; or that she has slept for two months with windows open; or that she has kept a daily classified account for one month; or that she has organized the girls of her street to beautify their yards, and that she has received for each of these an award of honor, something which can be added to her attire, the spirit of romance has been suggested to her. Perhaps to receive this honor she wears her ceremonial costume, a straight dress of galatea with fringe on the borders, which she has made herself at a total cost of sixty cents. Possibly her camp name is the Raven and she wears a head dress suggestive of the name she bears as she stands very straight to receive the beads which are the symbol of award—the red beads which indicate attainment in health, or the blue beads, forming a necklace, which indicate attainment in out-of-door craft, or those beads which indicate proficiency in domestic things, taking care of the baby for a month, planning the family expenditure for food at \$2 a week for each person, and seeing that it is carried out, doing the family marketing for one month—as she stands before the Campfire and receives these tokens, the things which are everyday drudgery are thereby indicated as romantic and adventuresome.

When a girl is learning to distinguish three kinds of baby cries or to make ten standard soups, it is not a part of an unmeasured, long-continued daily grind; putting the girl's work into definite attainable parts makes possible for the first time the measurement of woman's work. The most profound difference at present between the work of men and women, in the production of mechanical things, is that man's work is measured

by dollars or pounds or inches, and women's work is unmeasured. No scientific adjustment is possible save upon a basis of measurement, and woman's work has never been measured; it is simply repetition, one thing after another, without beginning, without end. Women and girls no longer have their status in a community because of doing woman's work or feminine things. They are known by other things not necessarily feminine, which are merely human. Women have never acquired status according to the new standards of measurement, and the old standards are going. The consequence is that woman's work has become simply an endless round of drudgery. The Campfire movement is an attempt at regularity in handling all the things of daily life which are worth while, except those of the school, which already has an accepted status, and to cut them up into parcels that are attainable, thus serving as a basis for romantic achievement.

It seems at first as if this were merely a device to throw a bit of glamor over things which are in themselves dull and gray and leaden. But it is much more than this. It is not a disguise, but a transformation. Sleeping with one's window open because it is one's duty is an entirely different thing from doing it because it is one step in an adventure. Learning to care for the table and to cook because it is a thing every girl should know is one thing; learning to make ten standard soups, or two ways of making bread, or four ways of making cake, or four ways of cooking left-over meat, because they are part of a definite social status, is quite another thing.

Aside from making the daily life show the adventure side there is another reason for this sort of thing. During these two generations woman's world is being readjusted. Instead of being merely in the home, woman's work has gone out into the community, but it remains still woman's work. Education, the work of marketing, the care of the laundry have all practically gone out. Marketing is done in stores, bread is cooked in the bakery, not at home, our laundry is cared for in laundries; but all this nevertheless remains woman's work. If the work is badly done the reason is that she has let go her age-long task, she has not yet followed it out of the home as she should. If

woman is to have the same kind of relation to the world's work in the future that she has had in the past, she must reach out in the community and take hold again of those things which have always been fundamentally feminine. That is the new patriotism. The movement of women toward the stores, factories and workshops is but the first step toward the readjustment of women to the work of the world.

(596)

REGULATION OF PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS¹

MRS. BELLE LINDNER ISRAELS

Chairman, Committee on Amusement Resources of Working Girls

IT is only three and a half years since the first suggestion was made that public amusements might be regulated by statute; and we were told then by thinkers and students that we were planning an almost impossible thing. Yet to-day we are discussing the regulation of public amusements as a national social question.

In the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on any Saturday night, there are ten thousand boys and girls in public dance-halls, and we do not know how many additional thousands in motion-picture shows and theaters or attending private parties. In the city of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, where they have a population of about 65,000, between five and six thousand people nightly are visiting amusement places of all kinds, dance-halls, motion-picture shows, vaudeville theaters and the like. In New York city in any one week about one hundred thousand boys and girls may learn to dance in dancing academies alone. In view of such facts is it not worth while to consider whether the community ought to regulate public amusements?

Have we no responsibility toward the thousands of young people who, night after night, throughout the whole country, make use of public amusement facilities? The story is the same in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco. Everywhere we find the same standards, the same resources, affording the same resulting dangers, the same class of people making use of these places, and, alas, the same ignorance with regard to the effect on the lives of young people.

There are only two methods by which we may deal with the problem of public amusements. One is regulation by statute, and the other is regulation by public opinion. Regulation by statute works, if the statute is adequate and receives sincere enforcement. New York is the pioneer in regulation by statute.

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.

Fifteen cities throughout the country have followed New York's example and either have enacted regulations governing public amusements or are considering it, and in six other cities the question of regulation is being studied and has not yet reached the stage of submission to the public. An efficient regulation of public amusements must take account of two things: the amusements themselves and the conditions under which the amusements are offered. No regulation is effectual that simply considers the amusement by itself. Statutory regulation of the dance hall to-day deals primarily with the conditions under which dancing is offered. It licenses premises in which dancing goes on, and in only two cities, thus far, has it gone farther than that and dealt with the amusement itself or with the individuals offering that amusement. In the cities where the dance-hall regulation has gone so far as to require that every public dance offered shall have a license, the regulation has been most effective; it therefore seems reasonably clear that that is the only way in which we can effectively regulate public dancing. First, we must place conditions upon the conduct of the premises themselves, and then upon the kind of amusements taking place on those premises.

This applies with equal force to the motion-picture theater, the vaudeville theater, and the burlesque show. For a few years, until we educate public opinion, we may need a moral and educational censorship. This ought to be coöperative as between managers of amusement enterprises and the public. This would prevent such obscenities as are to-day being uttered upon the boards of some of the burlesque theaters in New York from coming before the enormous audiences of boys and young men who frequent them.

Public opinion regulates all forms of amusements, not only those requiring an admission fee, but the public parks and the free amusements offered by the city. Public opinion says how many lights there shall be in a park at night; how many lights there shall be on a recreation pier; what kind of people shall supervise these places; what sort of amusements they shall offer, in addition to being breathing spots or ornamental show places. Public opinion may also regulate private enterprise, but public opinion has to be educated to appreciate the need

for regulating private enterprise. Private amusement enterprises to-day are the open door for the social evil. It is in these places of amusement where girls go unguarded and unsupervised that they are sought for by men and women who mean no good to them. We have the right to demand that these places shall be socially supervised since they cannot be personally supervised. By social supervision I mean the supervision that is given by the community as a whole through inspection. Until we have sufficient publicity regarding the conditions of public amusement enterprises, we shall not have efficient public censorship of the kind that really forms and guides public opinion into action. The needs of the poor are something broader and more human than merely shelter, clothing and sufficient food. The little child, the boy and girl and the father and mother need a relief from the tasks of the daily round of life just as keenly as they need food and clothing and shelter. We bring art into our lives because of its cultural and softening influence upon ourselves and our children. We need to bring it wholesomely and carefully and sanely into the lives of all our people; we need to see that they get the right kind of recreation, because recreation is an art, too. The wrong kind of recreation has disastrous results; the right kind, even if it be so humble a thing as a five-cent moving-picture show, may bring about an uplift that is equal to almost any form of art. The film that shows Indian life in Bombay may open a whole new world to a woman who has had neither life nor soul outside of her washtubs all day.

Thus we owe a public duty to each of the millions of people availing themselves of the commercial forms of recreation. We must see to it that the places where they are offered amusement are safe and wholesome and decent, and that the wrong kind of people are kept out. It can be done by statute. It can be required that every night in the week there shall be someone whose duty it is to see that every place in the city is properly conducted. An inspector of dance halls can be required, as in Cleveland, to know not only every dance hall in his city, but the committee of every club which applies for the use of any of those dance halls. He should determine whether the group which represents "The Jolly Tumblers" or "The Four Leaved Clover" is a proper group to be allowed to con-

duct a public ball to which girls may come. Not only can this be done, but it is being done. There is at least one man who knows and controls absolutely, by virtue of statutory power, just what goes on in every public ball-room in the city of which he is the public inspector.

For a practical working program in the regulation of public amusements the first requirement is knowledge. The church, the school and social organizations of every kind need to know at first hand what the amusement forces of their neighborhood are; need to know what they are doing, and how they affect the lives of the people. On this basis they must make out a constructive program.

Any constructive plan must allow not only for regulation, but for substitution of the right kind of resources for the wrong kind. The city must have recreation centers and amusement places conducted for the people who cannot, or will not, or need not pay for what they get. The city owes a recreational duty to these people. But we must also keep a watchful eye upon what is offered to the public commercially in the guise of amusement. If we are able to show to the management of all amusement places that we can control their audiences so as to make it pay to offer wholesome, decent performances, they will give such performances. Once we can show the dance hall that it need not sell liquor or entertain the underworld in order to make money, we have taken a long step toward making dancing as wholesome and safe as it ought to be.

Fundamentally, however, we must admit to ourselves and to the world that young people and old ones as well need and will have recreation. Play is not a luxury, but an absolute necessity to the working world to-day. The regulation of amusement is nothing more than the extension, socially, broadly, generally, of the supervision that wise men and women give in a private capacity to the young people with whom they associate from day to day. Even though we do not personally associate with the boys and girls who make up the five millions annually using the dance-halls in New York city, we must appreciate our responsibilities toward them. We tend rapidly to that point.

COMMERCIALIZED VICE¹

GEORGE J. KNEELAND²

Director Department of Investigation, American Vigilance Association

TO my mind the most significant fact brought to light by the report of the Chicago Vice Commission is this, that public prostitution is a commercialized business of large proportions, yielding tremendous profits each year, and controlled largely by men and not by women as is commonly supposed.

The yearly profit from this business in Chicago is estimated to be over \$15,000,000. This statement is based upon daily account books kept by keepers of houses of ill-fame, some of them used as exhibits in court cases, and in addition those seized in raids upon such houses by the authorities. It is also based upon the testimony of madams and inmates of houses, on the known profits from the rental of property and from the sale of liquor in houses and saloons where women are permitted to solicit and sell drinks on a twenty or forty per cent commission.

That this estimate of yearly profits is ultra-conservative is seen from the fact that it is based upon the exploitation of only 3194 professional prostitutes, who were actually known to the police or were discovered by the investigators for the Vice Commission.

The recent report of an investigation of the police department in Chicago by the civil service commission declared that the number of professional prostitutes in that city was nearer 20,000 than 5,000 and that 15,000 is a conservative estimate.

The second significant fact brought out by the Chicago report is that this enormous profit goes not only to degenerate and vicious men who make a profession of the exploitation of

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.

² Formerly Director of Investigation, Vice Commission of Chicago.

women, but is shared also by ostensibly respectable men and women in the community who rent or lease their property for this business. What is true in Chicago is true in every other large American city where the social vice is tolerated or at least winked at by the public and the authorities.

These facts explain many of the difficulties met with in securing adequate enforcement of state laws and city ordinances in certain municipalities. They explain why efforts to secure the revocation of licenses of disorderly saloons and disreputable hotels are so meager of results. They are at the basis of the demoralization of police discipline. They furnish some of the sinews of war whereby corrupt politicians are elevated to power. With these facts in mind, why do we wonder at the extent of the white-slave traffic, and the difficulty of securing proper punishment, or any punishment at all, for many of those who buy and sell our women and girls?

This profit is the reason for the army of "cadets," political guerrillas, exploiters and scoundrels who live on the earnings of these unfortunate women who are led to think the life easy.

It also accounts for the other commercial interests that support and live upon this evil—the druggists, the fake doctors, the costumers and all those who cater to the trade of the prostitute. She is peculiarly susceptible to all forms of graft; for everything she buys she pays more than a double price in actual dollars.

Whenever an attempt is made to study the social evil and to offer recommendations for its repression we hear the contention from the morally inert that nothing can be done; that this evil "always has existed and always will." We may grant for the moment that a certain proportion of unfortunate women always have drifted and perhaps always will drift into professionally immoral lives through inherited vicious tendencies. But let us have faith enough in womanhood to believe that this percentage is small, and that the great majority—and some hold eighty per cent of the total—take up the life through ignorance, are forced into it against their will or are driven into it by the deception, lust and greed of men. We believe that certain of these conditions can be corrected, and many women and girls of the future saved to society.

Realizing these facts The American Vigilance Association,¹ recently organized, has conceived a program of work which strikes at the root of the problem. The plan of operation is centralized in eight departments, namely:

Organization and Promotion
Legislation and Law Enforcement
International Co-Operation
Investigation
Library and Editorial
Literature
Education
Rescue and Protection

As an illustration, through the department of organization and promotion the association desires to interest a large number of citizens and organizations, and to correlate so far as possible the work of philanthropists, educators and reformers.

In time it is planned to have city, state and foreign powers so effectually aroused and coöperating to such an extent that the men exploiters of women and the white slavers will be completely exterminated.

When a town or city desires to join in the campaign against commercialized vice, the association will be prepared to assist it. As a practical program it will recommend, first, a careful survey and study of vice conditions in the city; next, upon the basis of a convincing and reliable report, a campaign to arouse the public conscience to its moral and civic duty; third, the securing of convictions, with the aid of public opinion and by help of lawyers skilled in conducting this particular class of prosecutions; and lastly, so far as is practicable, an educational campaign for the betterment of public and private morals.

¹ New York address, 156 Fifth avenue. Chicago, 105 West Monroe street.
(603)

THE PROBLEM OF WAYWARD GIRLS AND DELINQUENT WOMEN

MAUDE E. MINER

Secretary of the New York Probation Association

WE are only beginning to study the problem of the wayward girl and to discover something about the causes of her waywardness and the best method of treating her after she has become delinquent. If we can fully understand the girls and women who are now passing through the courts and prisons and deal effectively with them, a larger number can ultimately be returned to society as useful members and in the future many can be prevented from reaching the courts. We have long been accustomed to consider the sentence imposed upon the woman offender by the court as a punishment, having as its object the deterring of women from similar acts in the future and the protecting of society by incarcerating the criminal. More recently a new light has been dawning on the horizon and we have been seeing that the women are not really criminal and that the interests of society can be better served by helping rather than by punishing them. What methods can be employed to help in the wisest and best way those who have reached the courts and by what means we can prevent more young girls from joining the ranks of the wayward and becoming delinquent, are the most important questions in connection with the problem of the delinquent girl.

The offenses for which girls and women are brought to the courts include soliciting on the streets for prostitution, intoxication, vagrancy, incorrigibility, larceny, and the more serious crimes of robbery, forgery and the like. Only a small percentage of the convicted women are found guilty of the serious offenses and we find that there is no criminal class of women, as such, living by their acts of crime. Of the 11,273 cases in which women were convicted or held for trial in a higher court in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx during the year

1911, only 256 cases involved a crime of the grade of felony. The largest groups were composed of those convicted of offenses relating to prostitution and intoxication. By far the greatest number of women had been leading a professionally immoral life.

The failure of the present method of dealing with the women in the courts is shown by the fact that so many return to the court again and again for the same offense and that in such a small percentage of cases is anything helpful done. Of the 11,273 cases during 1911, there were 4,869 commitments to the workhouse on Blackwell's Island and 3,820 fines imposed. In the two magistrates' courts in the borough of Manhattan where the largest number are brought for prostitution—the women's night court and the Jefferson Market day court—there were, during 1911, 5,365 arraignments of women charged with soliciting on the streets and carrying on prostitution in tenement houses, and 4,739 convictions in these cases. This number represented 2,612 different women, as the finger-print record showed that there were 2,127 repeaters who have been convicted from two to eight times. Of the women convicted of prostitution, there were 3,329 commitments to the workhouse and 882 fines imposed. In less than ten per cent of the cases were women released on probation or committed to reformatory institutions.

The workhouse sentence is not helpful in any way and there is no reformatory influence in the institution. Between 500 and 600 women are herded in 131 cells and two hospital wards, and frequently there are four or five or even a larger number of women in one cell. Segregation of the different classes of offenders is impossible, and women arrested for intoxication, disorderly conduct, larceny and prostitution mingle freely together. At times young girls seventeen and eighteen years of age are placed in the same cell with hardened women. Nothing is done to help the women when they leave the workhouse and the only way open to them is to return to their former mode of living. The short sentences of five or ten days, of which there are so many, are utterly futile and do not deter the women from continuing their life of prostitution and openly soliciting on the streets.

The imposing of a fine of from \$1 to \$10 serves neither to deter nor to help a woman. If she has not the money with which to pay the fine, she can usually secure it from one of her friends and can readily pay it back as soon as she returns to her life of prostitution. The number of fines imposed upon women for soliciting on the streets has greatly diminished during the last year, yet many were imposed during 1911 for this offense. We convict men and send them to prison for living on the earnings of prostitution and yet without protest we allow these fines—the proceeds of prostitution—to enter into the sinking fund of our city. The fining system is practically a license system and should be abolished.

The present method of dealing with the women, as we see, is inadequate and ineffective. It involves immense cost to the city in maintaining courts, station houses, district prisons and workhouse. It accomplishes little in helping these women or in deterring them or others from further violation of the law. Except in a small percentage of cases of women released on probation and committed to reformatory institutions, the good of the individual is not consulted and the sentences are not imposed with the idea that the defendant will be improved in any way.

How can we more effectively help the woman offender who comes into the courts? *By thoroughly understanding the needs of the individual and applying a method of treatment suited to those individual needs.*

The judge sitting in the court of justice with the evidence before him can quickly decide upon the guilt or innocence of the accused, but he cannot quickly judge as to the wisest and best method of dealing with the offender. That must be based upon a thorough knowledge and investigation of the past history and character of the woman and upon adequate mental and physical examinations.

To make possible an adequate study of the individual girl and woman and to determine the treatment suited to the needs of the individual, the work of the judge should cease after the defendant has been convicted and a commission composed of specialists should have charge of investigations and examina-

tions necessary to decide what disposition should be made in the cases, and should have power to make such final dispositions. A summary of this proposed plan is as follows:

I. Appointment of a commission of specialists to receive under commitment women convicted by the courts.

II. Thorough investigation and examination of convicted women under the direction of the commission. This includes:

(1) The taking of a complete history and record.

(2) Investigation of past history, home environment and previous work.

(3) Mental examination to determine whether women are feeble-minded, insane or constitutionally inferior, and a study of character defects.

(4) Physical examination to determine whether women are suffering from venereal disease, tuberculosis or other infectious disease and are in need of medical care.

III. Commitment of convicted women to suitable reformatory and custodial institutions and a restricted use of the probation system:

(1) Release on probation of those who can reasonably be expected to reform in view of their mental, physical and moral condition, without commitment to an institution.

(2) Commitment to custodial institutions of those needing permanent care because of mental condition.

(3) Commitment to the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford and the New York State Farm for Women of those eligible to these institutions.

(4) Commitment of those needing institutional care, not eligible to other institutions, to an industrial farm colony under the control of the commission, to be established in place of the present workhouse on Blackwell's Island.

The commission, itself an unpaid body appointed by the mayor of the city, would appoint the skilled investigators, physician, neurologist and psychologist required for the work of investigating the cases of the convicted women and making the necessary examinations. The decisions reached as to the best disposition of each case would be the result of the combined reports of these experts.

In making investigations of the cases all statements which help to an understanding of the individual should be verified. As far as possible the causes responsible for bringing her into trouble should be determined. If the girl's home is in a city other than New York, investigations should be made by probation officers or some other duly authorized persons there. When she has been in an orphan asylum, reformatory or other institution, or has been previously arrested, these facts should be learned and the reports secured.

In the large number of cases of women who have been soliciting on the streets, special effort should be made to determine whether or not they have been associated with men who have been living on the earnings of prostitution, or who have procured them for a life of prostitution, and corroborative evidence should be secured for the arrest and conviction of such persons. This would be the most effective means of breaking up the "cadet" system, which is so closely connected with the problem of women in prostitution.

The mental examinations will make it possible to determine those who are mentally deficient and who are in need of permanent care. This class constitutes a considerable percentage of the women convicted of prostitution, although it is unknown how great the percentage is. As the result of careful observation, it is estimated that approximately one-third of the immoral girls who have been received into Waverley House are subnormal mentally. It is only humane to care permanently for these mentally deficient and feeble-minded women in custodial institutions for their own sake and in order to prevent increase in number of this class.

Provision must be made for the different classes of women in suitable institutions where they will receive the kind of treatment which they need. To take the place of the present workhouse, there is needed a new institution, where extended observation of women can be made, if necessary, before they are transferred to other institutions, and where there can be adequate provision for trade instruction and medical care. The habitual offenders—women convicted five times within a period of two years—can be sent to the New York State Farm for Women

as soon as that institution is completed. Many of the older women now committed to the workhouse for intoxication would be sent to the state farm under the provision of the present law. Bedford Reformatory will continue to receive some of the women under thirty years of age who have been convicted of prostitution as well as those guilty of the more serious offenses.

Probation remains for the chosen few whose minds are not too poisoned by the life they have been leading and for whom there seems to be a real chance of reform without commitment to an institution. Many of these will be first offenders and there will be others who have been convicted before, but have never had a chance to try again. Effective probation work includes visiting the women in their homes, securing employment for them, relating them to helpful influences, and truly befriending them. It is a system of discipline and correction outside of an institution, dependent for its success largely upon the careful selection of probationers and the efficiency and fitness of the probation officers. The period of probation should be longer than at the present time and should extend over a year, at least, if changes in character and life are to be effected. In case of violation of the terms of probation the women should be returned to the commission for commitment.

During the time while women are being held for trial they should remain in a house of detention, instead of in the district prisons as at the present time. As the result of the experiment made at Waverley House, officials of the New York Probation Association urged upon the Inferior Courts Commission the necessity of providing a house of detention where women could remain while investigations were being made to determine the best disposition in their cases, and where the younger girls could be separated from the older women. The Inferior Courts Law passed June 25, 1910, made mandatory the establishment of a house of detention. The law provided as follows:

There shall be established on or before October 1st, 1910, a place of detention under the jurisdiction of the commissioner of correction, convenient to the night court for women, where women may be detained

both before and after being heard, and in such detention place the young and less hardened shall be segregated so far as practicable from the older and more hardened offenders.

Provision has not yet been made for this house of detention although repeated requests have been made for an issue of corporate stock necessary for its erection. It is planned to have a new building erected in conjunction with a court for women where all women arrested in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx will be arraigned. The court room on the ground floor of the building should be small, so as to accommodate few spectators. The house of detention should contain from 300 to 350 single rooms instead of cells, and five divisions for the different classes,—three for white and two for colored women. Offices for probation officers, psychologist and physician should be provided in this building.

By having the women arraigned in a central court, providing for them adequately in a house of detention, extending the finger-print method of identification to all convicted women and then dealing effectively with the convicted women according to the plan described, a long step forward will be taken in solving the problem of the delinquent women in our courts.

How can we prevent more girls from becoming wayward and delinquent? *By pursuing constantly a policy of suppression of the social evil, bringing to justice the white-slave traffickers, improving conditions at home and at work, providing proper recreational facilities for girls and giving to men and women higher ideals and standards of morality.*

When our girls see many women soliciting on the thoroughfares of our city and meet others who are frequenting "call houses" and massage parlors and cafes, they hear that it is "easy" and they are induced to enter the life. Others come in through the influence of the procurers and white-slave traffickers, who under promise of marriage, by "fake" marriage and even at times by force and violence secure young girls for a life of prostitution. Many of the girls come from homes where there has been no helpful influence and no moral or religious teaching. Often they have left the home without preparation for work or

for life. The pressure has been very great and temptations have come to them which they have not been strong enough to resist. With the grind of work and with little chance for recreation and play except in dangerous places, they have often become discouraged or disheartened and have started on the pathway which leads downward.

To improve conditions and protect our young girls and young boys as well, we can demand that street soliciting shall be abolished and the laws against prostitution enforced. We can help to bring to justice the men who profit from the shame of women. We can do much to improve the conditions under which our girls live and work, can provide wholesome recreation for them, can give them sex education and moral training as well, and can inspire them to nobler and better things. We can protect those who are mentally deficient by caring for them in custodial institutions long before the time when they are in danger of entering prostitution.

The New York Probation Association each year helps many of the girls who have erred morally, by caring for them at Waverley House, securing positions for them and bringing helpful influences to bear so that it is possible for them to live honest, useful lives. It aids in bringing white-slave traffickers and procurers to justice, and witnesses in these cases remain at Waverley House while cases are pending in the courts. The association is also doing protective work for the girls who are in grave moral danger, and its protective officers are at work in different districts in the city. This year protective leagues have been organized for the sake of securing the help of a large number of girls in protecting other girls. The objects of these leagues are as follows:

1. To protect other girls from moral danger.
2. To help in suppressing the white slave traffic.
3. To encourage pure thinking and clean conversation.
4. To promote moral education and knowledge of sex hygiene.
5. To secure wholesome recreation for girls.
6. To stimulate faith in the possibilities of life.

In the protective work we have had the coöperation of a number of churches which have helped in maintaining our

protective officers and which refer to us from time to time girls who are in moral danger, coöperating with us in the cases of individual girls.

There is much that all of us can do to help in solving the problem of wayward and delinquent girls. In helping to secure the adoption of a more rational policy for dealing with women offenders in the courts throughout Greater New York; in aiding individual girls and women in connection with the probation work of the courts, the reformatories and volunteer associations such as the New York Probation Association; in helping to suppress the social evil and demanding that existing laws be enforced; in seeking to improve conditions at home, at work, and at play so as to prevent more girls from becoming wayward; and in bringing to the great mass of men and women more moral and religious training and so reaching the hearts of men that they will more truly love their neighbors as themselves, truly effective work can be done in the solution of this great problem.

(612)

THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN

C. C. CARSTENS

Secretary and General Agent of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

THE organized movement for the protection of children started in 1874 by the organization of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. This was three years before the first charity organization society was organized in Buffalo and eight years after the organization of the first society for the prevention of cruelty to animals in New York city.

The fact that the organized work in behalf of animals had preceded the work in behalf of children by some years is of importance when one seeks to understand the development of the later movement. Prosecution work in behalf of helpless animals had proved its usefulness in giving expression in a tangible way to the desire to enforce humane standards in dealing with dumb animals in distress. The helplessness of children and the protection they needed from cruel and abusive treatment led to an analogous movement in behalf of children. Its value and effectiveness, wherever such an organization has been intelligently and vigorously administered, few will question. This analogy, while pointing the way toward the establishment of an effective agency for children, also resulted in a tendency to emphasize those forms of protection which were based upon law enforcement and gave a strong trend in the direction of having such societies become from the first adjuncts to the police departments where offenses against children were concerned as well as where children were the offenders.

Since the prevention of cruelty concerned itself principally with the enforcement of law and the punishment of the offender, at first only the grosser and more patent offenses were recognized. The vigorous work of these societies immediately made its impress upon the community and established humane stand-

ards that have very much reduced the amount of cruelty in its various forms throughout the world.

But the term "cruelty" like the term "charity" in our more recent philanthropic development has taken on a new meaning, a broadening significance. No longer interpreted only as a malicious act inflicting severe pain, it is now more often interpreted to mean such conduct on the part of parent or guardian as threatens the life or health of a child. As our communities have become increasingly sensitive to new forms of protection, workers in the prevention of cruelty have recognized as cruelty the results of intemperance, vice, non-support, abandonment, desertion and other crimes on the part of the adults in their dealings with their own or others' children.

While it is fully recognized that a brutal beating requires intervention on the child's behalf as before, association with vicious or immoral persons not only corrupts the body but also sears the child's soul. It is equally recognized that a community's neglect to protect the safety and health of its children is as serious as parents' neglect to protect their own children, and even more difficult to guard against. The wider significance of the term "cruelty" can perhaps be illustrated by a few instances of abuse.

A nine-year-old Jewish boy, a full orphan, came with his aunt from Russia, the latter having represented him to be her son so that she might have no difficulty to get him admitted. After a year's stay with this family, the boy was driven out to go to another relative who had, however, no more use for him. He tried to make his own living by selling newspapers but without much success. He slept wherever he could find shelter and stole when hunger drove him to it. It was prevention of cruelty that led to the boy's being given a chance to get wholesome training in a good home. The immigration authorities when apprised of the deceit issued a warrant for his apprehension so that he might be deported, but when it was found that no one of his own flesh and blood remained in Russia except a crippled brother, it was prevention of cruelty when guarantees were furnished that he should not become a public dependent if he were given an opportunity to grow up in this land.

A wife and four children of a deserting husband had reached the point where hunger stared them in the face, with the alternative of dependence on charity, from whose acceptance they shrank with a feeling akin to desperation. It was prevention of cruelty which led the society, after much trouble, to locate the man, secure an indictment, bring about extradition from another state, and arrange such terms of his parole as would save the family from dependence upon others for their daily bread and would give opportunities of education to the children.

A twelve-year-old girl, whose mother had disposed of her as a baby in a home found by means of a newspaper advertisement, and who had been sent back to this mother after twelve years, was once more advertised for acceptance in a new home. Without inquiry of any sort, the little girl was given her bundle, put on the train at a station in New Hampshire and sent to what the child believed was to be a rich and beautiful home in Boston. But the "home" was a den of the worst infamy, and before the child had been there a week she had suffered the most shameful abuses. It was prevention of cruelty when the wretch to whom she was sent by her negligent mother was apprehended and was sentenced to a period in state prison and the child given into the care of a children's aid society that will attempt to atone for the parental negligence. But it is equally a prevention of cruelty to insist that newspapers should refuse to make possible through advertising in their columns such traffic in children.

A twelve-year-old boy of intemperate parents was before the court on a charge of larceny. He had previously been before the court on a similar charge. When inquiry brought out the facts that he was a truant and quite backward in school, it was prevention of cruelty which brought about the discovery through a specialist's examination that he was feeble-minded and later his commitment to an institution where he may be protected from the temptations in community life that he seems unable to resist.

The prevention of cruelty to children in its larger aspects therefore concerns itself with the establishment and maintenance of good community and family standards quite as much as any other social agency dealing with children in their family rela-

tions. It requires that those who are incapable mentally and morally of controlling themselves for right action should be given an opportunity to work under surveillance in farm or other custodial colonies. It insists on the prompt reporting of infants suffering from *ophthalmia neonatorum* so that important steps may be taken to save them from blindness. It requires that proper surgical and medical care be given to children that are in danger of growing up crippled, weak and dependent when the parents' stubbornness or neglect to accept the physician's skill are all that stand in the way of the child's regaining full health.

These are but a few of the many ways in which the word "cruelty" means more than a brutal physical punishment, and those working in the prevention of cruelty to children soon find themselves, if the task is conceived broadly, as part of a large number of individuals and agencies working for social betterment, each attacking the large problem from his own angle.

In order that such work may not suffer therefore from overlapping of energies, or from incomplete plans and partial results, the largest coöperation with other agencies is necessary. The distinctive task of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children is with family standards as they affect child life, but this sphere is so large that it becomes an important part in any large movement dealing with community standards.

The emphasis which social agencies are throwing upon prevention has also begun to be felt by societies for the prevention of cruelty to children. It is no longer thought enough to rescue the child from degrading surroundings and place it in a new environment where it may be happy, become well, or grow up into self-respecting manhood or womanhood. It is also necessary to study the abuses that exist in our communities and that menace child life as problems in themselves; to learn the steps in the process of degeneration; to discover the causes, and to develop an orderly procedure for working out remedies.

The prevention of cruelty should mean more than a prevention of recurrence. It should in time be such organized protection and such development of community standards that most of the cruelty and neglect is stopped at the source. Much

of this preventive work must be done with groups in the community. While our native population neglects its children principally because of crime, cruelty, drunkenness or other vice, the newer immigrants, while suffering also from the effects of these conditions, in many more instances neglect their children because, through ignorance, they have failed to realize what the best American standards are and what opportunities are at hand by which their children may have better chances in this new world. Both groups need the help which better adapted schools, settlements and social centres will provide, and a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, while perhaps not directly conceiving of these enterprises as part of its task, should, if it would prevent cruelty, give the fullest encouragement to these agencies as far as they are efficiently managed.

The inter-relation of work for the prevention of cruelty to children with other work in behalf of children is almost self-evident. When local or state boards of health have not yet equipped themselves to protect infants from blindness, it is prevention of cruelty to help enforce laws for infants' protection, or when these do not exist, to work for the necessary statutes to safeguard the infants' sight. And so in a similar way, such societies should work hand in hand with child labor committees, with societies undertaking to reduce infant mortality, dependence, pauperism, venereal infection and other conditions to whose serious import in the lives of children we are becoming increasingly sensitive.

The experience of a society for the prevention of cruelty to children as an adjunct in law enforcement, its prestige with the court and among those who are prone to neglect their children, gives it unusual opportunities for interpreting to the court and the police departments those social standards in child-helping and protective work which these officials in the natural discharge of their exacting duties are prone to underestimate if not entirely to lose sight of.

But the proximity of these societies to the courts and to the police has also brought with it grave dangers and harmful tendencies. Some of these private societies have become mere extensions of the police department. Where this is the case,

either the protection of children has been left to the inadequate working force of a private society, thus giving the community less protection than if every officer charged with the enforcement of the law were required to know and to enforce the community's standards in behalf of children and could call upon the private society to assist him in making suitable disposition for them, or where the force is sufficient, all of the private society's resources are apt to be given over to the enforcement of law, and the larger and more important task of the prevention of neglect and the remedy of conditions that are remediable is impossible. This tendency to take part in law enforcement has further had the tendency to make these societies become the custodians of juvenile offenders, and in many instances their prosecutors as well.

This task is so fundamental for the state itself to undertake that its assumption by a private society is constantly in danger of weakening the state's own responsibility for the protection of the juvenile offender, and it is so extensive that the private society finds itself unable to devote adequate resources to the prevention of physical and moral conditions in family life in which much juvenile delinquency arises and out of which a large measure of adult crime develops.

A further danger arises in connection with societies for the prevention of cruelty to children due to their nearness to governmental agencies, *i. e.*, their lack of appreciation of their being after all private societies, responsible to their constituent members and subject to suitable inspection and direction by the properly constituted governmental agency so that their resources may not be used foolishly and their work may not be a detriment to the body politic.

After all, a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, being a private society dependent on the generosity of the public, is but an organized expression of the community's interest in the protection of children. Because of its experience with legal procedure and law enforcement, it may be in a peculiarly helpful position toward other private organizations and church bodies. Visitors in family homes from societies and churches inevitably run across conditions that need to be

remedied, and the strong arm of the law must often be invoked to make intervention effective. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are ready to inquire into all instances where alleged neglect exists, and to work in coöperation with other agencies for the protection of the individual group of children that may be suffering, and what is even more important, will contribute of their experience to the community's knowledge as to how conditions may be remedied and how standards of family life may be permanently improved.

(619)

THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN¹

HASTINGS H. HART

Russell Sage Foundation

IN listening to the addresses of the morning, I was impressed with their bearing upon the problem of institutional children, who number at the present time not less than 125,000 in the orphan asylums, children's homes, and juvenile reformatories. These papers have suggested some of the forces that bring delinquent children into institutions. Child labor is a direct cause, as has been indicated, of boys becoming delinquents. Boys who are overtaxed and deprived of proper educational opportunities, whose parents look at the commercial advantages to be had from them, are quite liable to turn up in the juvenile court. The lack of proper regulation of amusements is undoubtedly responsible for a large amount of juvenile delinquency. Its influence is exaggerated, but it is an important factor. As regards the commercializing of vice, it is safe to say that at least eighty per cent—and I think ninety per cent—of all the young girls sent to industrial schools and institutions for delinquents have had an immoral experience. Many have been inmates of houses of prostitution. That is not all. The commercializing of vice means that the great majority of those girls, who after they have been through the institution start out with habits of right living and desires for it, immediately become objects of pursuit from the fact that they have been so marked, and they are exploited to an extraordinary degree.

In connection with the future welfare of both the dependent and the delinquent child in institutions, the subjects that have been presented to us are vitally important. It is absolutely indispensable to the normal development of the child that his recreation shall be right. I have visited hundreds of institutions for children, and I have made special studies of recreation, and

¹Discussion at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 19, 1912.
(620)

the truth is that there is little careful regulation of recreation in such institutions. I could cite institutions in New York and Philadelphia where two or three hundred boys are turned loose in a little playground where there is not room for more than thirty or forty; and the big, active fellows get the playground and playthings, and the little boys stand around the edges and watch wistfully. These children do not have any spontaneity in life, and yet it is absolutely essential to their education.

There is not one institution for children in twenty that follows the plan adopted by Mrs. Falconer in the girls' school in Philadelphia—that of having directed play. She has a college-trained, well-bred young woman, who spends a large part of her time in studying how to use the leisure time of these girls to the best advantage. At the New York Orphanage, conducted by Dr. Reeder, the whole life of the child is studied; and people come from all parts of the world to see that place, because there are not half a dozen institutions of this class among all those for dependent children.

It is very evident that the last word has not been said on child labor in its relation to the institutional child. Institutional children must have wholesome occupation, and they should receive some kind of vocational training. But vocational training in the institution is beset with difficulties. In the first place, as to boys, the most of those in our juvenile reformatories are two or three years below the normal in their intellectual, and, to a certain degree, in their physical development. If you undertake to keep such a boy long enough to give him a trade, he must remain in the institution three, five or seven years, and that means that he becomes institutionalized. Further than that, the process is exceedingly expensive if it is done right. You cannot give all institutional boys the same training. There is much nonsense talked now about making them all agriculturists. The moment you go into the mechanical trades, you need expensive teachers and equipment that only a few institutions can afford.

The vocational training of girls is simpler in a way, because the range of occupations that ought to be taught is not so large and because we recognize that every girl must learn domestic

science. With a domestic science teacher, a teacher of dress-making who is also a sewing teacher, and a teacher of typewriting and bookkeeping, a considerable number of girls can be accommodated. As a matter of fact, however, and I speak advisedly, from actual knowledge, three-quarters of all the so-called vocational training for girls in institutions is a humbug and a fraud. The reports of these institutions state that "our girls are taught domestic science, cooking, house work, laundry work, sewing, dressmaking" and so on. The effort is made to give that instruction along with the daily routine of the institution, but in nine-tenths of our institutions there is no daily routine that teaches the girl the ordinary work of life. In the institution the cooking and the washing are done by steam. How train a girl there to do ordinary cooking and washing?

Not only that, but in three-quarters of the orphan asylums of this country that admit girls you will find a little group of older girls. One of these institutions states the reason in its annual report: "We cannot send these older girls out into homes; it is not safe. The girls need the domestic training they will receive in the institution and the institution needs the help of its older daughters." Those girls are in the institution to help, to save hiring servants; they are doing free domestic service. A girl can be given domestic training in the ordinary routine only if the institution is organized with cottages that accommodate from twelve to twenty at the outside, if the living is like the living in an ordinary family, if the cooking is done and the meals are served with the same care and dignity as in an ordinary family, if the dresses for the girls are cut and made with the same neatness and variety as in an ordinary family. I remember visiting an institution for children where I learned that the girls were being taught sewing. I went to see the girls' domestic work, and there was a beautiful room, with sewing machines run by electricity, with a machine to cut children's garments, fifteen or twenty garments at a time, a machine to make buttonholes, a machine to sew on buttons, a machine to do everything—and that was teaching the girls sewing!

As a result of it all, a wholesome reaction is occurring. We are coming to recognize that the institution is not the right

place to give the child domestic training. His stay in the institution should be as brief as possible, and he should be quickly transplanted into the normal life of the community, there to find his opportunity and take his chance with the rest of the normal children. That means the development of the placing-out system. We are learning to select our homes with greater care; to watch the child in order to see that he gets opportunity and training, and that he is not exploited to take the place of the hired servant.

(623)

THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

WILLIAM O. STILLMAN

President of the American Humane Association

THE first law for the prevention of cruelty to animals was passed by the British Parliament in 1822. It was known as Martin's Act, having been introduced and passed through the efforts of Mr. Richard Martin, a member of the House of Commons from Ireland. This law applied particularly to domestic animals, and was incomplete from the modern humane point of view. It was, nevertheless, an enormous advance over the ideas which had previously ruled throughout civilization in regard to recognition of the rights of animals and their protection from cruelty. It may properly be called the Magna Charta of the animal world.

This recognition of man's duty to the lower orders of creation was not accepted without a bitter fight. It antagonized the prevailing notions in regard to man's privilege to abuse his domestic animals, and it introduced a new idea into the scheme of civilization. It is true that great humanitarians in the past, even as early as the days of Plutarch, made strenuous appeals for kindly treatment for all harmless beasts. It remained, however, for an Anglo-Saxon legislative body to put into concrete form these abstract propositions which had haunted the minds of the merciful and philanthropic for many ages.

In 1824 the first society for the prevention of cruelty to animals was organized in London. This organization is still in existence and is known as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The anti-cruelty movement was first introduced into the United States through the efforts of Henry Bergh, who organized the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in New York city in 1866. Gradually the movement has spread all over the world and active societies for the protection of animals are to be found in almost every civilized land. Efficient societies are in operation in India,

Japan, Finland, Egypt, South Africa, South America, and throughout Europe and North America. In the United States alone there are 427 societies devoted wholly or in part to the prevention of cruelty to animals. In addition to these there are 44 societies devoted exclusively to the prevention of cruelty to children. Last year nearly one million six hundred thousand dollars were received for the support of anti-cruelty societies in this country and over twelve hundred paid employes were connected with the work. In addition there were over six thousand five hundred volunteer agents more or less active. Nearly a million and a half animals were reported as affected by this work in the United States during 1911.

The humane movement when first started undertook only to suppress cruelty to animals. Its scheme of activity was not nearly so complex then as now. At the present time many of the larger and wealthier societies are carrying on lines of work designed to afford other relief for animals and some societies are specializing, as for instance in the maintenance of animal shelters, homes of rest for horses and work-horse parades. Originally, humane literature was very limited in amount but now humane tracts are being distributed by hundreds of thousands, if not millions. The list of books inculcating humane principles has also become a long one and the titles alone fill pamphlets containing many pages.

Years ago practical humanitarians began to feel that if their work was to prove permanently successful, children should be interested in it. Accordingly, "bands of mercy" were formed, first in England and later in the United States. Millions of children have now become members of these bands. They are doing an active work in behalf of humanity by reporting cases to societies managed by adults, which investigate the complaints and often prosecute offenders. Books of recitations and plays have been prepared for these children and they serve to increase interest and enthusiasm. Banners, humane badges and not infrequently special rewards are offered to the children, with excellent results.

Both in England and in the United States, some attention has been given to offering a series of rewards for humane essays

prepared by school children. In some cities in the United States large numbers take part and essays are presented in competition which show intelligent interest and considerable discrimination. The prizes are adapted to the different grades of school children so that all may be attracted to compete. In London the distribution of such essay prizes to school children draws many thousands of them to the yearly gathering, which is usually honored by the presence of members of the royal family.

In the United States much attention has been given by societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals to the introduction of humane education in the public schools. Already fifteen states have compulsory humane education laws, and I believe that Massachusetts should also be added to this list on account of laws passed some time ago encouraging humane instruction in educational institutions. Chicago has now been operating under a humane education law for about two years, and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, superintendent of schools in Chicago, wrote to me recently that

when the moral and humane education law was adopted by the legislature of the state of Illinois, it was at first thought by the school people that the plan of teaching humaneness as a definite subject of instruction in the schools was a mistake. In the intervening two years, however, there has been a change of opinion, and I think that now most of the school people, at least in Chicago, recognize the advantage of the definite presentation of this subject as a part of the course of study.

The Chicago board of education, on account of this state law, on March 23, 1910, adopted a scheme for humane education and moral training in the schools and presented an outline for such training accompanied by a list of books and periodicals that furnished material adapted to aid in such instruction. Humanitarians feel that to instruct a child in the principles of justice and kindness to the helpless or the weak does much to broaden the child's character and to increase its sympathy for that which is noble and good, and cannot fail to produce a better citizen for the future. It is a fixed principle of the policy of the anti-cruelty societies gradually to extend this system of

education into the public schools of every state, and plans have been definitely formulated for systematically carrying this work forward. We believe it a means for the promotion of good citizenship not to be ignored by persons who feel that the heart should be educated as well as the mind, and that the fundamental object of all education is the proper development of character.

The laws which have been enacted for the protection of animals cover a large variety of offenses and are more or less known to the general public. There are laws which provide that proper food and drink must be supplied to them; that disabled animals must not be abandoned or any animals carried in a cruel manner, whether in private vehicles or by common carriers; that substances injurious to animals shall not be thrown in public places; that cows shall not be kept in unhealthy places or fed improper food; that animal fights for sport shall be forbidden; and there are a number of special provisions designed to protect beasts from heedless or intentional cruelty.

The general policy of anti-cruelty legislation, however, has been not to legislate specially for every conceivable offense, but rather to provide general statutes designed to apply to most cases of abuse. As New York state was the first one to pass a special law for the protection of animals, its blanket statute has been largely copied in other states. Section 185 of the penal law of New York state is designed to cover all ordinary forms of cruelty and will serve as an example of the legal protection given to animals by a blanket statute. It reads in part as follows:

A person who overdrives, overloads, tortures or cruelly beats or unjustifiably injures, maims, mutilates or kills any animal, whether wild or tame, and whether belonging to himself or to another, or deprives any animal of necessary sustenance, food or drink, or neglects or refuses to furnish it such sustenance or drink, or causes, procures or permits, any animal to be overdriven, overloaded, tortured, cruelly beaten, or unjustifiably injured, maimed, mutilated or killed, or to be deprived of necessary food or drink, or who wilfully sets on foot, instigates, engages in, or in any way furthers any act of cruelty to any animal, or any act tending to produce such cruelty, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

This law has been amply sustained in the courts and is an efficient instrument for the protection of animals from most forms of abuse.

The New York state laws assist the enforcement of the section of the penal law just quoted, by providing two definitions which greatly increase the effectiveness of the law. Thus Section 180 declares that "the word 'animal,' as used in this article, does not include the human race, but includes every other living creature." This same section also provides that "the word 'torture' or 'cruelty' includes every act, omission, or neglect, whereby unjustifiable physical pain, suffering or death is caused or permitted." There are special laws for the protection of animals in railway transportation; also others relating to agricultural conditions and the licensing of dogs, while the game laws and other laws affecting wild animals are discriminating and in the main reasonable and effective.

There are two aspects of the anti-cruelty question which have received special consideration on the part of those who are deeply interested in its sociological value. The commercial or economic side of animal protection has been studied attentively and it has been calculated that the proper humane treatment of animals in the United States would result in savings amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars per annum. It is not possible to develop this aspect of the question in detail in a paper of limited length. The other general aspect of anti-cruelty work, to which I have just referred, deals with the reflex action on national character of the humanitarian movement. It was long ago felt that a greater moral harm was done to man himself, when guilty of cruelty to a beast, than was represented by the actual suffering of the creature. It was argued that man was degraded and debased by acts of cruelty and that the exercise of cruelty could not fail to have a powerful influence in a retrograde way on his social development.

Nero, the Roman Emperor, as a child, is said to have been diabolically cruel to animal life with which he came in contact. As the head of a great empire he only amplified and extended the cruelty which he had manifested as a youth. In a lesser but analogous way, we believe that this law of development

applies to those countries where the humane treatment of animals is discouraged, for humanitarians feel that humane education and the enforcement of laws for the better protection of helpless beasts has an important bearing on national character and national instincts.

The anti-cruelty societies are desirous of having public co-operation on the part of individuals and churches as far as possible, in carrying out the beneficent work in which they are engaged. Societies are desirous of establishing animal hospitals and free dispensaries in every large city, where intelligent and scientific care may be given to suffering animals, particularly those owned by the poor. Many a man of very limited means, who is dependent upon his horse for the support of himself and his family, does not feel that he can afford to pay the fee of a veterinarian for every slight ailment from which the animal may suffer. There is a large field for philanthropic work in the establishment and support, not alone of free dispensaries and animal hospitals, which are now beginning to spring up in the large cities, but also for the starting of courses of veterinary lectures so that all of those interested in horses, dogs, and others animals may obtain information how to care for them properly.

In New York, Chicago, and Boston, excellent courses of free lectures on the proper care of animals have been given for several years. These courses of instruction are attended to a considerable extent by the police, by drivers and horse owners, and by officers of the anti-cruelty societies. They have a large field of usefulness, as they aid those coming in contact with animals to treat them humanely and intelligently in health as well as in illness or disability.

Drinking fountains, from which animals may slake their thirst, especially during the heated term, are very desirable in all cities, and furnish an opportunity everywhere for those philanthropically inclined. Many humane societies lack veterinary ambulances, whereby injured or sick animals may be transported. Proper appliances for raising horses which have fallen into excavations are usually needed in connection with these ambulances. Many humane societies have such conveniences,

but the majority have not. An active movement is under way in some sections of the country to promote "horse vacations." This is based upon the belief that a short rest during the summer will increase the value of a horse's services during the rest of the year and prolong its life. It is based upon the supposition that what is good for a man is good also for a beast, as both have bodies which are substantially alike in their general anatomical construction and physiological functions. This idea will probably become more popular in the future.

Quite a number of societies have "homes of rest" for horses, where poor men may have their animals cared for, either gratuitously or at a nominal cost. We should advise persons interested in anti-cruelty work to offer farms, either by gift or loan, to humane societies so that they may be used for this purpose. Some enterprising anti-cruelty societies have undertaken to loan without charge horses which may be used by poor men who are dependent on their own animals for their living as an inducement for them to send their horses for a rest during the summer.

One of the greatest needs of anti-cruelty societies for animals throughout the United States is an adequate endowment. Societies which depend wholly on annual subscriptions for their support are always more or less in debt if their work is a large and active one. The largest and most efficient societies in this country are dependent for the major part of their income upon the interest from endowments. I know of no way in which the humanely inclined can do a greater service than by making testamentary provision toward the support of local anti-cruelty societies, so that they may not be hampered in their beneficent work. Many anti-cruelty societies in the past have died from financial starvation. The majority of them are so situated that a few earnest, hard-working philanthropists who are looking after the protection of the animals have to spend at least half of their humane working time in securing funds with which to finance their societies. Humanity is a general social duty. It is not the prerogative of the few. If persons humanely inclined are performing a duty which should be undertaken by the many, it is only fair that they should be more generously financed by

those who are able to extend help but whose work in this direction is being performed by others.

The anti-cruelty cause has suffered much in the past from a lack of trained workers. Earnest and enthusiastic partisans of the cause have often volunteered their services, and while meaning well have not infrequently antagonized both the public and the magistrates by their well-intended but impracticable demands. Many times men have been employed to enforce humane laws for animals who had become superannuated as policemen or deputy sheriffs, and who were destitute of any real interest or personal fitness for the work. Others employed have been those who have failed elsewhere and whose employment partakes very largely of the nature of a charity. Humanitarians are beginning to realize the error of such a policy as this and to feel that it is time that a special school should be started which shall fit the workers of anti-cruelty societies for their labors.

Society has trained workers for nearly every other philanthropic or business activity, as for instance, for social service, for nursing the sick, for every variety of technical employment, for bookkeeping and stenography, and so on through a long list. The humane worker is obliged to have a knowledge which is quite as technical and difficult as almost any of these. It is felt that a school is the only effective means of attracting young men and women of ability to enter this field of philanthropic endeavor and to perform efficient service.

A paid agent of a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals should be familiar with the office management necessary for the successful carrying-on of an active society. He should be familiar with the needed office books and with the blanks required to receive complaints. He should know the proper methods of filing and should be drilled and disciplined in the carrying on of the more or less voluminous correspondence which is necessarily required. He should also be familiar with statistical methods, in order to present the results of the society's operations to its patrons. The humane worker should be taught how to keep up membership lists; how to incorporate anti-cruelty societies and legally conduct the same; how to keep

the minutes and records of the society and to prepare and publish annual reports.

In addition to all these things he must have the methods for field work well in hand. He must be more or less of a veterinarian and must understand the anatomy and physiology of the horse and other animals. He must be fitted to tell others how to relieve suffering animals, and be able to determine with a reasonable degree of exactness whether the animal is actually suffering or not, and whether the case is one which should be taken into court. Humane workers need to be wise in regard to the law, for they must plead their own cases in most instances; they must know how to draw legal papers and be familiar with legal procedure and the intricacies of the law; they must know what evidence is necessary in order to secure a conviction. It is desirable that an agent of a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals should understand how to take photographs well; how to adjust ill-fitting harnesses; how to distinguish between a dog which is merely suffering from a fit or lack of water and one which is really vicious and dangerous. There are many other qualifications which are required and which can be secured only by special training.

Over and above all the humane agent must possess the milk of human kindness. He must be taught that the majority of offenders are cruel more because of ignorance than because of design, and that advice and friendly suggestion are what is needed in the vast majority of cases. Humane officers need to have enlightened good sense. They should be familiar with the latest and best methods of carrying on the work. It should be borne in mind, however, that all this theoretical knowledge is comparatively valueless unless supplemented by actual field work in connection with an active anti-cruelty society. It is desirable to have the theoretical foundation and the academic instruction for an officer, but in order to be properly fitted for his work he must go out on the street and into the police court, and learn actual methods by experience under the instruction of veteran workers. A school will be established in the near future through the efforts of the American Humane Association and we invite financial support for the development of this necessary work.

PRISON LABOR

E. STAGG WHITIN

General Secretary, National Committee on Prison Labor

CHRISTIANITY has brought no greater change into the world than the overthrow of slavery. The greatest war of modern times had human slavery as its inciting cause, yet behind the dark bastilles we call our prisons, penitentiaries, reformatories, workhouses and refuges there still hides the enemy of our social progress, the economically vicious slave system. The abolition of the evils inherent in this system, comprising as they do the exploitation of the helpless, the perversion of state functions, the gnawing of graft and the corrupting of politics, appears no limited task, even to the most light-hearted of reformers; to undertake to work out the reconstruction, the peaceful reformation of this system throughout the length and breadth of this land is at least to grapple with fundamental issues.

Its dealings with the criminal mark, one may say, the zero point in the scale of treatment which society conceives to be the due of its various members. If we raise this point we raise the standard all along the scale. The pauper may justly expect something better than the criminal, the self-supporting poor man or woman than the pauper. Thus if it is the aim of good civilization to raise the general standard of life, this is a tendency which a savage criminal law will hinder and a humane one assist.

Thus speaks Hobhouse. The level of the convict to-day is, economically considered, slavery. He is the property of the state and during his incarceration the economic value which is in him may be disposed of by the state to those who desire to lease it, or he may be worked by the state as it sees fit.

The leased convict is always exploited. The state-worked convict may be made to work either to pay for his keep, to sustain his dependents, to reform his ways or to bring revenue

into the state treasury. Work he must and by the sweat of his brow he must learn that society has rights to be protected and he duties to perform. The conditions under which this training is given need not debase the state, his disciplinary authority, in the performance of its function. While we raise the level of the convict and force up the level of industrial society we must force up likewise the moral standard of the master who has charge of the discipline. Negro slavery was more demoralizing to the free man than to the slave; convict slavery to-day demoralizes the community and the free individual in just the same way. It is an old saying worthy to be believed of all men that a state cannot exist half slave and half free.

The abolition of slavery in our prisons does not mean a jail delivery, nor does it mean even an indiscriminate pardoning by over-enthusiastic governors of large numbers of depraved and diseased men who are now incarcerated. From a slave the convict must become a ward and as a ward he must be disciplined, corrected, developed, trained through daily chores, through honest work, with ever the hope of the brighter future before him when he can again assume the position of citizen and praise and bless the state that has trained him. Simple was the process of the abolition of slavery as pointed out by Lincoln when he said:

Free labor has the inspiration of hope; pure slavery has no hope; the power of hope upon human exertion and happiness is wonderful; the slave master himself has a conception of it, hence the system of tasks amongst slaves; the slave whom you cannot drive with the lash to break seventy-five pounds of hemp in a day, if you task him to break a hundred and promise him wage for all over, will break you one hundred and fifty. You have substituted hope for the rod, and yet perhaps it does not occur to you that, to the extent of your gain in the case, you have given up the slave system and adopted the free system of labor.

The movement which this thought represents is sweeping over the country, finding its expression in many states. It is championed by Wilson in New Jersey, Harmon in Ohio, Mann in Virginia, Hadley in Missouri, Johnson in California. The legislatures are responding, commissions are investigating, gov-

ernors are conferring. As an outcome of the discussion at the governors' conference at Spring Lake the southern governors met in May in special conference upon it and the governors in the West are soon to follow this example. But what is the actual status? Whither are they leading? To point the movement in a few brief phrases must suffice here. Economically two systems of convict production and two systems of distribution of convict-made goods exist: production is either by the state or under individual enterprise; distribution either is limited to the preferred state-use market or is made through the general market. In the light of such classification the convict-labor legislation of recent years shows definite tendencies toward the state's assumption of its responsibility for its own use of the prisoners on state lands, in state mines and as operatives in state factories; while in distribution the competition of the open market, with its disastrous effect upon prices, tends to give place to the use of labor and commodities by the state itself in its manifold activities. Improvements like these in the production and distribution of the products mitigate evils but in no vital way affect the economic injustice always inherent in a slave system. The payment of wage to the convict as a right growing out of his production of valuable commodities is the phase of this legislation which tends to destroy the state of slavery. Such legislation has made its appearance, together with the first suggestion of right of choice allowed to the convict in regard to his occupation. These statutes still waver in an uncertain manner between the conception of the wage as a privilege, common to England and Germany, and the wage as a right as it exists in France. The development of the idea of the right of wage, fused as it is with the movement toward governmental work and workshops, cannot fail to stand out significantly when viewed from the standpoint of the labor movement.

In a word, the economic progress in prison labor shown in recent legislation is toward more efficient production by the elimination of the profits of the lessee; more economical distribution of the products by the substitution of a preferred market, where the profits of the middleman are eliminated, in place of

the unfair competition with the products of free labor in the open market; and finally the curtailment of the slave system by the provision for wages and choice of occupation for the man in penal servitude.

In administration the adaptation of these new principles presents many difficulties and points the need of much careful study and detailed application suited to the special locality. Dr. Hart's illustration from the Columbus reformatory finds its counterpart in the horrors that have been perpetrated at the Columbus penitentiary. The pen portraits of Brand Whitlock in his *Turn of the Balance* exaggerate nothing in their depiction of the horrors of the convicts in the shops, suffering from industrial diseases as horrible as the poisoning of which Dr. Seager has spoken, but forced to work under the brutal contractor till fatigue and anguish break them down—then the paddle and the water-cure change them from men into brutes. I should hesitate so to testify if the facts were not a matter of court record in a case now pending in that great city of Ohio whence came most of our inspiration at this morning's meeting. This is but a type, however. The convicts in Alabama who tried to become my slaves to avoid the mine-camp can be found if you care to seek them; all along the line the war goes on between brutality and enlightened state control. What Dr. Hart told of in Ohio is as true in many other places. You have read of the abominable conditions in Maryland, the contracts in Connecticut which sell the right to grasping contractors to punish the convicts at their pleasure—but this phase must soon belong to the past.

The National Committee on Prison Labor for two years has been investigating the conditions, advising with state officials, drafting legislation, organizing reform. Armed with a constructive program resulting from its studies and experiments it will bring to the legislatures which are to be elected this year the encouragement which comes from well-conceived plans based upon actual conditions, and to the administrators whom the new governors shall appoint a synthesis of the available material upon which to work. It is not for support from these men that we need ask; they will be glad and ready to respond—

it is from the public which this association represents, the public of the good citizen, the church-goer, the preacher, the tax-payer and the educator. Reform is impossible of permanence until these are fully alive to the problem and take personal interest in aiding each community to make that adjustment upon which permanent reform must rest.

What are the conditions in your community? What are you doing to improve them? Do you realize that as a citizen of a state that continues the slavery of its convicts you join in the responsibility for its existence?

(637)

THE EXTENSION OF ORGANIZED CHARITY IN THE UNITED STATES

FRANCIS H. MCLEAN

General Secretary, National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity

IT is interesting to note that the movement which preceded all the other social movements of the present day in the United States was among the last to be nationally organized. When the charity organization idea¹ was transplanted from England to the United States in the later seventies, the whole problem of family rehabilitation and of the attendant social campaigns which would have to grow out of the daily work of an organization attempting to rehabilitate, was considered to be a strictly local or community problem. During the whole of the eighties the rudimentary ideas connected with the charity organization concept were more or less sprinkled out over all portions of the country. A number of the societies took deep root and grew up more or less sturdily, struggling along to a better and wider standard of work. In most cities, particularly the smaller ones, the roots were close to the surface and spread out laterally rather than horizontally; that is, the negative ideas of mere systematization of relief, the checking of duplication and fraud and similar ideas constituted the whole content of the program of these societies. This was to some extent true of the early nineties, but approximately from 1895 to 1905 there was an increasing call made upon the recognized associated charities or charity organization societies from communities about to organize, asking for advice as to forms of organization. This marked a distinct step in advance, because up to that time about the only things which had been borrowed from older societies were the forms of constitutions, which

¹ Charity organization societies, associated charities and societies for organizing charity are identical offshoots and these terms are used interchangeably throughout this article.

closely resembled one another. The objects as generally stated included the development of coöperation, actual rehabilitation (employment being often specifically mentioned as one form of rehabilitation), as well as the carrying on of social and sanitary reforms to improve the environmental conditions of the neglected. It is worth noting that the purposes of the great New York Charity Organization Society, with its manifold activities, read just the same as the constitution of dead-in-life societies which have been discovered by the writer in small cities in the interior.

The recognized societies thus importuned to advise groups organizing in new communities at first confidently replied upon the basis of their own experience. Thus in each part of the country there was a set of societies resembling a model to be found in the nearest important society which had been consulted. Thus weakness and strength alike were perpetuated. Some new societies bodily seized ideas from some society which had developed a particular activity, possibly to the detriment of other more important activities. For instance, some societies too strongly developed industrial agencies, others developed other specialties. Committees writing to these particular agencies copied their specialties.

During all these years there was growing up a recognition of the essential unity of the field. This could not fail to come into existence. There could be no barriers separating single municipalities or other units. The small city found its most difficult problem in this or that girl who had come in from the rural sections. The intermediate city found that its group of dependent families was recruited not only from the rural sections, but from the smaller cities which had not intelligently looked after their neglected families. The larger cities gathered their cases from all over the country. Thus slowly came the realization that this was not a mere community problem. This did not mean that each community should not be locally and independently responsible for the neglected families residing in it. It did mean, however, that the different communities were so inter-related that it was for the interest of all to have right principles of rehabilitation everywhere being actively employed.

So there came to the leaders in the movement the definite appreciation of the need of field work, similar to that done in other social activities. There was the need for the exchange of experience, and for guarding new movements against fallacies and weaknesses, showing them how to start on right foundations at the beginning, thus conserving local resources in every way.

The field work was inaugurated as a Field Department of *The Survey* in 1907, being supported by the Russell Sage Foundation. In 1909 it was taken over by the Foundation directly and made a part of the work of the Charity Organization Department. In 1911 it was taken over by the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. It is being conducted now, therefore, under the direction of some seventy of the recognized societies of the country for organizing charity, and is being supported by subscriptions received from the cities in which these societies are located.

The purpose of this paper is not to consider this movement from the point of view of the societies, but rather from the point of view of those individuals or voluntary organizations, like churches, who are desirous of helping in the proper organization of local societies. For those so interested it is suggested, first, that they write for certain pamphlets which are published by the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation for the benefit of the field work of the association.¹ The first of the pamphlets whose title is given in the footnote below presents concrete suggestions about the preliminary period of propaganda and organization before actual formation may be effected. The second is a small eight-page pamphlet explaining the purposes of organized charity in rudimentary form with illustrations, and is useful in interesting people to whom it is desirable to explain the movement. After carefully reading these pamphlets, correspondence with the office of the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity is encouraged. Such correspondence should explain

¹ Write for single copies of *The Formation of Charity Organization Societies in Smaller Cities* and *What is Organized Charity?* to the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, 105 East 22d St., New York city.

just who is interested in the proposed plan, what existing societies may be more or less affected, from whom the proposition for organization has come, and as far as possible should give some characterization of the family problems which are coming to the existing organizations and of the public health and child problems which are most imminent. What will be emphasized by the national association's officers is that there is need of considering several elements in the community, and that until all these elements are interested, it is foolish to attempt an organization. To explain what is meant it may be well to say that the idea of organization may come from totally different sources. It may come from a group of churches who feel that there is duplication in relief and that this ought to be changed. This may be a public need, but no organization effected to deal solely with this will ever gain any large public support. Its work will be negative, and no negative enterprise will ever command the sympathy of a community. The idea may develop in some commercial organization which, however, is looking at it from largely the same point of view. That is, the men are more or less bothered by applications of all kinds made personally and otherwise. Or again, it may develop out of a group of broad-minded citizens who realize the need of a central rehabilitating society, bringing into proper coördination in connection with individual family problems all the social agencies of the city so that comprehensive plans for individual treatment may be worked out through the office and staff of the central society. Wherever it starts from there is the need of interesting the other two groups. This does not mean obtaining unanimity of opinion. Such organizations always have more or less opposition to deal with. It means, however, that the business men must be interested to such a degree that the board of directors created may be composed largely of business men. It means that of the agencies already dealing with the families in their homes, all, or at least some of the more important, should be willing to work upon the committees of such a society. It means that the interest of those who have social programs of other kinds to carry on should be enlisted to some degree.

Another definite principle which must be accepted at the

very start, if failure is to be avoided, is that such a society must be led by a trained charity organization worker from another city. This is where many of the earlier societies failed completely. There was not sufficient backbone in the movement to accept the principle and live up to it. Therefore, persons without sufficient ability and training were accepted as general secretaries, and the societies failed completely. Indeed, the idea of service is the crux of the whole matter at the start. There can be no compromise on this point. There may be upon almost every other detail excepting this. The work is too important to the community's welfare to be left entirely to untrained hands. Furthermore, experience in the field work of the last five years has demonstrated that cities of 10,000 or over are generally able to support a society with proper trained service. For cities under 10,000 other special plans may have to be tried. The national association is endeavoring to carry on experimentation in these smaller cities with the hope of working out some general principles of action which, with adaptations, may be generally used. At the present time there is no publication dealing specifically with the problem of the city under 10,000. The association, however, welcomes correspondence regarding the problems of organization in these smaller cities.

Another idea which is strongly emphasized in the pamphlet above mentioned is that temporary enthusiasm should not be confounded with grim determination. Societies which are started upon the spur of the moment, and as the result of one meeting, for instance, are liable to fall by the wayside. It is necessary that there be a great deal of talking and advising. The propaganda period should extend, therefore, from one month to one or two years, indeed up to the point where those interested feel certain that they have a group which is determined to stand by the movement during its first two years of troublous existence. Not until there is this group, with this determination, is it time to consider definite organization.

So far we have been reviewing some of the points which have developed out of the field experience. We have suggested above also that the national association will welcome corre-

spondence from either a single individual or a group that has started on a campaign for organization. A great deal may be effected through such correspondence. The records of the national association show that in some instances organization has been effected without going beyond this correspondence stage, so far as the association is concerned.

This brings us up to the real field work. For the information of local groups we would state that the kinds of visits made by the field secretaries of the association are two-fold in character. Visits of a day or two days are sometimes made, whenever they may be fitted into the road schedules, upon groups which are in the preliminary stages. Organization is not attempted at this time. There may be the suggestion of how best to steer the committee, there may be talks given before representatives of societies or before commercial organizations. Such visits make it possible for the field workers of the association to speak with more local knowledge than if the visit had not been made. These preliminary visits have increased in numbers during the last two years. They have been found quite effective.

The second type of visit comes at a later period, generally just before the local group considers that the definite plunge into concrete organization should be made. These visits are generally of longer duration. If the demands upon the field force were not so overwhelming it is probable that no organizing visit of less than a week would ever be proposed by us. Of course, no field secretary himself can relieve a local committee of its responsibilities. He comes in simply to help in the proper rounding up. In doing so he often finds it necessary to press home the principles above indicated. These principles may have been accepted by the group primarily interested. This group may, however, have met with considerable opposition in the community itself. By reason of the lack of concrete experience of its individual members, they have been perhaps somewhat handicapped in answering the objections which have been raised by this or that individual or society. These objections are of two kinds. The first have to do with the form of organization itself, and the storm center is

often around the question of paid service. The second kind of objections are the most difficult to meet oftentimes. These objections acknowledge the reasonableness of the plan, but affirm that while other cities may have been able to carry on such a plan, this particular city is not able to undertake the burden. It is the duty of the field secretary to show what cities of the same size have done, and what their experiences have been. It is his duty to make such observations as will indicate that in the city concerned there are the same problems as are found in other cities which have already met the need by organizing. It is his duty constantly to give illustrations of family rehabilitation work in other cities, to show how other cities have financed their societies. It is his duty to uncover any fallacies or weaknesses in plans which have been evolved through the notions or ideas of people inside or outside of the groups primarily interested. It is his province, not to be a "spellbinder," but to meet with conferences of people whose interest in the movement is absolutely essential. It is his duty often to go even further and with members of the preliminary committee to visit individually this person and that. He must give advice as to the proper shaping up of final organization, as to what committees there should be, how they should be formed, what persons definitely should be asked to serve upon them. In a good many instances he may help in securing the consent of persons to serve upon the board of directors. He can do all this, of course, by himself, but cannot effect organization. He must count upon the steering or preliminary committee serving as the responsible agent and working steadily toward the final meeting for organizing purposes. In order to render the most effective service, therefore, visits of not less than a week should be made at this time. There are exceptions to this, of course. The trouble is that the association has been obliged, by reason of the pressure of work, to limit many visits to briefer periods, simply to cover as much ground as possible. But on the whole the policy of the association has been distinctly against the idea of covering the ground at too great sacrifice of intensive work.

There are all kinds of variations from the two types of visits

above indicated. Thus there is the question of the reorganization of old societies, which have seen the light and desire to measure up to their community responsibilities. Each visit of reorganization is radically different from the one preceding it and the one following. There are also visits made to societies not needing reorganization, but seeking specific advice as to some particular activity which they may wish to inaugurate, or desiring to learn whether in some particular department of work they may not be strengthened.

It may happen that some individual or organization is in a community where the society itself, though a dead-in-life one, does not realize its condition. This society or individual realizes the extent of the uncovered field and may wish to learn how effective reorganization may be brought about. It must be realized, of course, that the association must recognize a comity in its relation with such societies. Of course, many of these organizations are not really associated charities or charity organization societies. It may be of interest here to note that in addition to the some seventy societies which are members of the national association, there are only about sixty other societies whose standards are such that they are eligible for admission to it. Yet there are almost two hundred and fifty so-called associated charities which are listed in the directory of such societies. In the case we are considering there is an organization masquerading under the title. Nothing can be hoped for from violent action. It is generally a mistake simply to overlook the older organization and say we will start afresh. It is far preferable to secure its consent to have a field worker come in and in a perfectly friendly spirit make recommendations for reorganization. Sometimes, indeed, the pressure exerted by the other social agencies in the community may induce such an old organization to develop to its proper stature. In these different instances the national association is glad to correspond with those who feel the lack. It feels much easier and can help with greater effect whenever the coöperation of the old society is secured. But the welfare of the community itself must be the most important consideration. Therefore, other methods of meeting the situation are sometimes open and may be discussed with the association.

We have just spoken of the welfare of the community as the most important consideration. It may be permitted at this point to indicate just how we consider the charity organization society movement should function in the smaller cities of the country. Most people would concede that out of the great mass of people who have not been thinking socially the largest number of recruits to the whole social army will come through that particular social activity whose need in a rudimentary way will be recognized by practically all in a community. That need, of course, is the rehabilitation of dependent families. To the great mass of the uninstructed that will simply indicate material relief, but it is the natural starting point. With the proper family rehabilitation society you are educating one person after another of this uninstructed mass. Their ideas are very rudimentary. Many do not get beyond the rudimentary stage. But many others do travel along with the slowly unfolding idea of an efficient society. Therefore, the importance of a broadly founded society for cities of all sizes in the country cannot be overstated. It is most important where the social thinking of the whole nation, outside of those cities which are great centers of social thinking, depends upon the proper extension of the family rehabilitation group. It matters not whether a particular charity organization society itself carries on the social reforms which are indicated by its family work, or educates the community up to the point of other societies undertaking them; that must be decided by local conditions. But it does matter very much to any community whether there is in it this society which is day by day and week by week opening the eyes of the uninstructed to a sense of social responsibility of varying kinds. And thus there is involved in its proper extension far more than a strengthening of the community of action between the movement as one goes from city to city. Its proper extension is the best foundation for the local strengthening of all the other great national movements. Thus it has got far beyond the provincialism which marked its first twenty-five years of existence in this country. That provincialism was a fortunate one in many ways. Each one of the societies had a hard fight against misunderstandings and toward

greater efficiency. Those that were weak fell by the wayside. Those that developed strongly could become a part of the national movement. It has been somewhat difficult to awaken many of the societies to a sense of the national responsibility. Nevertheless the interest and enthusiasm in what the societies regard as a great missionary movement is constantly upon the increase. They have not become confused by the multiplicity of other national movements in which their own leaders were more or less involved, but are more strongly convinced than ever that the very complexity of the social vision which they observe makes it even more vitally necessary that the family rehabilitation movement should be strongly pressed in every community of any size. For that movement is becoming a greater and greater national force towards socialization.

(647)

THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND

Secretary of the Federal Council and of its Commission on the Church and Social Service

THE Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is composed of thirty-one evangelical denominations united, not upon the basis of a common faith and order, but under the principle of unity and diversity, uniting in one common service all forms of faith and order as represented in its constituency. The task of its commission on the church and social service is that of inspiring in the churches of the nation a deepening interest in the problems of the social order, and of bringing to bear the influence of the Christian church in the solution of our social problems.

Two great interests come together in this work, that of church unity and that of social service. The various forms of social uplift which are before the church offer one of the most vital and permanent of reasons and opportunities for federating the churches. On the other hand the opportunities for social service are of such a nature that they can be fulfilled, in large measure, only by the churches acting together. Social service is thus in part the basis of the Federal Council, and the Federal Council offers the basis for social service.

The task of the commission on the church and social service is indicated by the recommendations unanimously adopted by the Federal Council in Philadelphia in 1908, as contained in the report of the committee, published under the title *The Church and Modern Industry*, of which the following are typical utterances:

The churches of Christ in this Federal Council accept without reserve and assert without apology the supreme authority of Jesus Christ. Christ's mission is not merely to reform society, but to save it. He is more than the world's readjuster. He is its Redeemer.

The Church becomes worthless for its higher purpose when it deals with conditions and forgets character, relieves misery and ignores sin, pleads for justice and undervalues forgiveness. The Church stands forever for the two-world theory of life. The Church's doors open upon the common levels of life. They should never be closed. Its windows open toward the skies. Let their light not be darkened. The Church is not an end in itself. The services of the Church become subordinate to the Church's services to men.

At no time have the disadvantages of the sectarian divisions of the Church been more apparent than when the call has come for a common policy or a united utterance concerning such problems as modern industry now presents. This Federal Council may find some method for bringing the Protestant Christianity of America into relations of closer sympathy and more effective helpfulness with the toiling millions of our land. The Church does not stand for the present social order, but only for so much of it as accords with the principles laid down by Jesus Christ. The Federal Council places upon record its profound belief that the complex problems of modern industry can be interpreted and solved only by the teachings of the New Testament, and that Jesus Christ is the final authority in the social as in the individual life. The Church now confronts the most significant crisis and the greatest opportunity of its long career. We recognize the complex nature of industrial obligations, affecting employer and employe, society and government, rich and poor, and most earnestly counsel tolerance, patience and mutual confidence; we do not defend or excuse wrongdoing in high places or in low, nor purpose to adapt the ethical standards of the Gospel to the exigencies of commerce or the codes of a confused industrial system.

We deem it the duty of all Christian people to concern themselves directly with certain practical industrial problems. To us it seems that the churches must stand for equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life; for the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind; for the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change; for the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions; for the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality; for the abolition of child labor; for such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community; for the suppression of the sweating system; for the gradual and

reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life ; for a release from employment one day in seven ; for a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford ; for the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised ; for suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury ; for the abatement of poverty.

While this social or industrial creed of the churches relates mainly to the problems of industry, it is thus far a significant indication of the attitude to which the Christian church is coming, with relation to all the questions of the social order. In the carrying out of these principles a national office of the commission, in association with the Federal Council, has become a center for information, inspiration and guidance in the social work of the churches.

Through interdenominational action, the commission will bring about coördination and coöperation among the denominations composing the Federal Council, including, so far as may be possible, the adoption of a common program, the use of common literature and the presentation of the united appeal of the gospel in its application to social problems and opportunities. Through this interdenominational coöperation will come the development of this aspect of the work of the churches, the education of the ministry and the churches for it, and the equipment of the churches for carrying it forward.

One of the most important matters in relation to the whole problem is that of the preparation of the ministers to meet these great tasks. Representing the churches of the Federal Council, the commission will coöperate with the theological seminaries, so far as it is invited and permitted, in the formulation of a policy with regard to instruction and practical training in this important subject.

While on the one hand our ministers have not been altogether prepared in the theological seminaries for this work, it is perhaps equally true that our social workers have gone out without adequate training as to their relations with the Christian church.

Therefore the same coöperation should obtain with the various schools for the preparation of social workers, that they, upon their side, may also come into a proper working relation with the Christian churches.

The instruction in social sciences and ethics in our colleges and universities, imparted to young men and women who will be leaders of the church life of the nation, will be the subject of investigation and mutual consideration, through conferences and inquiry.

The relation of the churches to the multitude of agencies for social reform and betterment is an important problem before the commission. Its influence, together with that of the denominations and churches which it represents, will be brought to coöperate, so far as possible, with such societies and movements, in relation especially to those measures which affect the moral and spiritual welfare of the people. This will include such matters as child and woman labor, occupational disease, Sunday labor, seven-day labor, the reduction of hours, the betterment of wages, health, housing conditions, vice and crime, and many other similar questions, including both social wrong and social wrongs, social righteousness and social rights. The relations between local charity organizations, social settlements and similar local work will be taken up and considered, by conference and inquiry, from the viewpoint of the churches.

Few people have realized the extent to which our home mission work involves social problems and includes the work of social organization. Indeed, the churches in home mission fields are often, if not generally, the initiators of the social and community institutions. This work will be studied, encouraged and developed. This commission and the home mission committee will work in coöperation to that end. In the foreign mission field also, this branch of Christian service has in some cases developed more fully than in our own land, especially in industrial, medical and educational work, which has lifted foreign nations to a higher social level. This work will be made the subject of careful research and continued development, by a working relation between the commission and the committee on foreign missions.

By the constant issuing of literature in leaflets and handbooks for serious study, and the use of the religious, daily and weekly press, the growing accumulation of material relating to social uplift and social causes will be put into shape so as to be used by the churches for education and incitement to service. Authors are now being found for a series of handbooks of a popular nature, to be placed in the hands of pastors for use in church classes.

The labor and trade journals are receiving bulletins informing industrial workers and managers of the deepening interest of the church in their common problems and duty.

Lists of speakers, lecturers and instructors are being prepared, and a lantern-slide bureau is being established and developed. The commission will confer with labor representatives and will send its delegates to their gatherings. Similarly it will confer with groups of business men and send delegates to their gatherings. It will confer in joint meetings of both of these groups in modern industry and issue its challenge to both of them to unite with the church in a common service. The secretary of the commission is a fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Investigations will be made in various large and important industries, similar to the investigation of the steel industry by a special committee of the commission in 1910. Similar investigations in local communities will be made through pastors and other local agents. A report of such an investigation by a committee which spent several days on the ground has just been issued concerning the industrial situation at Muscatine, Iowa.

A nation-wide campaign is being carried on, endeavoring to cover all the states of the union, to secure one day's rest in seven for industrial workers. Committees in the various states are now being organized and the various forces brought together to this end.

The commission will continue to encourage the observance of Labor Sunday in the pulpits and by the churches of the nation. Last year thousands of pulpits carried out a program prepared by the commission, in many cases union services

being held, at which a large number of the churches of the cities came together.

More recent activities of the commission have been in relation to the Men and Religion Forward Movement. It now has the task of assisting in the conservation of the social-service work that has been begun in the various cities through the agency of this great movement. For this work a comprehensive program has been sent out to all the cities of the nation. A conference on this subject will be held at Silver Bay in June.

Under the combined auspices of the Commission and other agencies in the Federal Council a beginning has been made toward coördinating the churches and religious agencies which offer leadership in the work of rural betterment. An endeavor will be made to provide bibliographies for the aid of rural helpers, instruction as to social surveys by local churches, programs for community service for country and rural churches, and a bureau for public service, relating to all rural studies, methods and problems. In addition to these efforts, the commission will stand ready to take up any special social task that may fall to its lot.

The work of this commission must be done mainly through the various denominational agencies, and for this purpose a cabinet has been formed of the secretaries or other representatives of the various denominational commissions on social service.

The literature of the commission is assuming large proportions, and in addition to this the various denominational commissions are already providing the churches under their respective care with definite, concrete programs for the social work of churches or parishes.

At a conference held in Chicago in November 1911 representatives of seventeen denominations adopted this general program of the Federal Council commission and voted to enter into a working relation to carry it out. It looks as though in this great task which is before the church at the present moment she would move as one body; and it may be said that there has been no more potent agency in bringing about Christian unity than this task of social service.

CITY-PLANNING IN NEW YORK CITY—HOW ALL CAN COÖPERATE

GEORGE B. FORD

Lecturer on City-Planning, Columbia University; City-Planning Expert, Newark, N. J.

CITY-PLANNING as a science is of recent origin, but city-planning, such as it was, began with the first streets and the first docks laid out by the original Dutch settlers in New York. For the first two centuries of its existence the plan of New York developed in a haphazard manner; it followed the demands of immediate convenience. It was not until 1807, when a few optimistic men laid out a street plan for all the rest of Manhattan Island, that any thought was taken for the future of the city. The great mass of the public thought the men who designed this plan absolutely crazy in imagining that New York would ever grow to such a size; however, this plan has been followed above Fourth street and it is substantially our present gridiron scheme. As water transportation was of primary importance in those days, and as no one foresaw the changes which would be brought about by the application of steam and electricity to transportation, the whole street layout was based on the idea of the maximum amount of intercourse between the two waterfronts and a minimum amount of movement the length of the island. In the light of our present knowledge this arrangement should have been exactly reversed, and the long city blocks should have run north and south instead of east and west.

A few squares and small parks were sprinkled over this plan, but no large park was provided for until Central Park was set apart and laid out in 1858; then followed Prospect Park and much later the Bronx parks. Morningside Park, the Speedway, Riverside Drive with its extensions, Forest Park and other smaller ones followed in due time; while latterly we have the new Coney Island and Rockaway reservations. These parks have been the greatest boon to New York city; they have been

aptly described as the "lungs" of the city. They have had a marked effect on its healthfulness and enjoyableness; they have been of particular benefit to the children. Furthermore, they are among the most beautiful parks in the country.

New York has done much, too, in the way of playgrounds. The playground movement, to be sure, has been of comparatively recent origin, the principal development being within the last ten years; and while there are a number of well-equipped and well-managed playgrounds in the crowded portions of the city, they are quite inadequate in size or number for the needs of the community. The difficulty is that land costs so much now in congested districts that anything like an adequate acquisition of space for public playgrounds becomes impossible. The recreation piers have done something to solve the difficulty, but it remains so to plan the outlying districts that the mistakes of the past may be avoided in the future.

New systems of streets are being laid out all the time; not only is the whole street layout of 1807 solidly built up, but the same congestion extends into large areas of Brooklyn and the Bronx, and is even beginning to extend into Queens and Richmond. Each of the five boroughs has its own topographical department or bureau of surveys, which is constantly laying out new streets. Over all the bureaus is the engineering department of the board of estimate and apportionment, which is trying valiantly to unify the whole street development of the city. Owing to the powerlessness of the city to control private subdivisions, it is most difficult to work out an ideal general plan for the five boroughs. Attempts are being made to study this problem in a scientific way, particularly in the Borough of Manhattan, but this work receives very little support from the public, on account of a lack of understanding of its great advantages.

The transit problem is at present much before the public. We already have in our street cars, elevated railroads and subways an interesting and earnest attempt to solve this problem; the new routes now being laid out will do a great deal more toward rounding out the transit system of New York. A great deal remains to be done, however, and this can be done only

when the general public awakes to a realization of the importance of the subject.

In its dock development New York is very fortunate. In Manhattan, in particular, the city owns nearly ninety per cent of the waterfront, and can thereby control its future development. It is greatly to be regretted that it does not have a similar control over the waterfront in the other boroughs. It has in the privately owned Bush Terminal in Brooklyn the best example in America of a scientifically developed port scheme. The efficient and economical relation here between the piers, the sheds, the factories and the dwellings with their intercommunicating railways and sidings are most worthy of careful study. The present dock commissioner, Honorable Calvin Tomkins, has presented many good schemes for the scientific use and development of the city's waterfront. No unsupported public official, however, can carry through such plans.

The railways are continually making progress in the solution of the problem of the transportation of goods into and out of the city and between different parts of the city, but they are greatly hampered by lack of understanding and coöperation on the part of the general public and thereby of the city. There is an enormous amount of time, energy and money wasted in New York by lack of adequate and scientifically placed and planned freight terminals and connections. The problems of what to do with the lower west side of Manhattan and how to take care of the new industrial development in the Bronx are problems of vital importance affecting the whole question of the high cost of living, yet little is done to help bring about a solution.

In the transportation of people in and out of the city by the railways we have another great and important problem, one on which an enormous amount of money has recently been spent by roads like the New York Central and the Pennsylvania; yet in the latter case in particular the city has done practically nothing to coöperate. Again, public understanding and coöperation are of the greatest importance.

In housing there has grown up in New York city a set of conditions practically unique; the five and six-story tenement

covering seventy per cent of a lot one hundred feet deep is almost exclusively a New York problem. Many attempts have been made to solve this, most important of which was the work of the tenement-house committee, resulting in the tenement-house law adopted about ten years ago. This law, while far from ideal, was a splendid achievement under the conditions then existing and it has vastly bettered conditions. On the island of Manhattan, further improvement of housing conditions is extremely difficult; already there are large sections of the Bronx and Brooklyn to which the same statement applies; attention should be concentrated on the areas as yet uncongested. A popular appreciation of the evils of congestion is of the greatest importance. Once the matter is understood it will be much easier to bring the public to coöperate in demanding a solution of the housing problem by scattering the dwellings of the people over a larger area with a correspondingly decreased density per acre. Obviously people must live within easy walking distance of their work or else the means of transit between the places where they work and those where they live must be quick, cheap, safe and comfortable. As transit is fast reaching its efficient limit, it remains to concentrate on bringing the work out to the people; this means offering inducements in the way of good waterfront and freight-handling facilities in the outlying districts. A general provision of such facilities can be secured only by an intelligent and general popular demand.

Together with this problem of housing comes that of markets, schools, libraries, gymnasiums and baths. Popular interest and demand has brought about a wise and fairly adequate disposition of schools and libraries; the public has not yet awakened to the corresponding necessity for a proper distribution of markets, baths, and gymnasiums. A limited number of baths and gymnasiums exist in Manhattan; the other boroughs are suffering badly from the lack of them; only in the Bronx has the question of markets been agitated to any extent.

Civic centers as formally designed groups do not exist in New York. Within the last few years, however, the question of civic centers has been strongly agitated. This has resulted, in Manhattan, in the acceptance of a scheme for a civic center

about the present city hall. With a view to unifying the scheme, however, the location of the new municipal building is most unfortunate. An attempt to unify the present Brooklyn system about the Borough Hall is also a distinct step in advance; as is also the recent suggestion for a civic group in connection with the present Borough Hall in Richmond. In Columbia University, with its surrounding educational buildings, we have a real educational center. Aside from these groups, however, the gain in efficiency and beauty wherever civic buildings are grouped can be seen from many examples both in this country and abroad. It is desirable that the public should become acquainted with these facts so that they can demand results along these lines.

In the various features of water supply, sewage disposal, garbage and refuse collecting, and street cleaning, New York compares well with other cities, but except in the matter of water supply it has many possibilities of improvement. The public in general is indifferent. While this indifference remains, improvement is not likely to progress much more rapidly than it now does; and yet new problems are arising due to the very vastness of the undertakings in New York which imperatively demand radical changes, particularly in sewage disposal.

In the details of the architectural and landscape settings of the streets, parks, and open places, the city is making good progress, particularly in its street lighting and street signposts; but in the use of street trees, in the decorative handling of street signs, and in the use of other such accessories as letter boxes, hydrants, statues, public comfort stations, subway entrances, elevated structures and water-troughs there is much room for improvement. Here again popular demand is needed. In its bridges and approaches the city has been reasonably fortunate. The existence of the Municipal Art Commission has helped materially toward getting good results in all these public structures, but owing to lack of popular support the work of the commission has been far more difficult than it should be.

In methods of taxation and assessment with a view to carrying out public improvements New York city compares favorably with other communities both here and abroad. It is noteworthy

in this connection that a committee of the board of estimate and apportionment is considering the question of new sources of revenue for the city. The separating of assessments on land and on improvements, the annual or biennial re-assessment of property and the assessment of a betterment tax on the immediate abutters on new improvements are changes of great value to the city. The methods of taxation and the restrictions on the use of land in other cities, however, should be seriously considered here: such are the unearned-increment tax, excess-condemnation laws, zoning, districting, regulating the height and character of buildings.

Interest in city planning in general in New York has been of slow growth, particularly as compared with other cities of the country. The Pendleton commission appointed by the Mayor about ten years ago handed in an elaborate report dealing principally with the creation of new diagonal avenues in Manhattan and Brooklyn, the improvement of the bridge approaches, the designing of civic centers and the extension of the park system. Considering the state of the science of city-planning at that time, their reports compared very favorably with those of other cities. Very few of their suggestions have been carried into effect, however, because few of them were based on a scientific analysis of prevailing conditions. In other words, the modern business man, with his common-sense ideas of efficiency, found these plans to be impractical.

More recently, the Fifth Avenue Association in Manhattan and the Brooklyn city-planning committee have been conducting an active campaign toward civic improvement, particularly along the line of the "City Beautiful."

The Municipal Art Commission, founded and backed by the Municipal Art Society, has had a marked effect upon the standards of civic architecture. The Mayor's Congestion Commission of 1910 and 1911, for whose establishment the New York Congestion Committee may claim credit, has accomplished a great work in giving publicity to the economic and social evils occasioned by overcrowding in New York City; it has done much toward arousing the general public and the city officials to a feeling of social responsibility, particularly in civic matters.

As a result of all these movements there has been a growing demand of late for a city-planning commission for the whole of New York city, similar in functions and powers to those existing in other cities. Opposition on the part of the various borough presidents who have been afraid that the creation of such a commission would deprive them of some of their jealously guarded prerogatives has prevented this matter from coming to a head.

There is a vital need of such a commission; the problems which confront New York city are becoming more and more involved every day; each of the city departments is going ahead and trying to solve its individual problems as best it knows how. Even where a favorable disposition exists, it is extremely difficult for any one department to coöperate with the others; very few of the department heads have the time, money, or breadth of vision to attempt to solve their problems in relation to the needs of the city as a whole. The suggestions that are being propounded now by the dock department, admirable as they are in themselves, may be distinctly detrimental to the best interests of the city as a whole, in running counter to its needs from the standpoints of housing, recreation, transit or manufacturing. Plans now being proposed for transit improvement may run counter to the best interests of the city in its commercial, manufacturing and housing development. It is imperative to-day that a commission be appointed to correlate and unify all these different phases of the city's development. Such a commission should consist of men representing all that is best in breadth of vision, variety of point of view and practical common sense—men in whom the public can have confidence.

Such a commission will be secured in only one way, and that is by educating the public to the needs of city-planning in its broadest sense, and thus creating an irresistible demand for action. This education will come about only by the coöperation of all the civic, social, esthetic, legal, political and religious bodies of the city. It means that in all such associations, societies, clubs or other groups, active committees should be formed to work continuously, in season and out, to spread the propaganda of city planning. This can be done by circularizing,

lectures, exhibitions, and personal work. Each body may emphasize that phase of the general subject which more particularly affects its interests, but in every case the relation of this particular phase to all the other aspects of the subject should be kept constantly in mind.

City-planning as a subject is becoming of greater importance every year. Within a comparatively short time, it is going to be one of the most important questions before the public. It affects all sides of life. It affects vitally every man, woman and child. It is the part of far-sighted wisdom to take up the subject of city-planning with promptness and zeal.

(661)

HOUSING NEEDS¹

LAWRENCE VEILLER

Director, New York Tenement House Committee

NEW YORK has devoted more effort to housing reform than any other city in America; notwithstanding this, its needs to-day are greater than those of any other American city. That is due to the magnitude of the problem; for New York has over 100,000 separate tenement houses, whereas in most American cities the tenement house is the exception rather than the rule. The outlook in the city is distinctly encouraging. The present-day tenement house, built under the existing law, is the best type of structure in the city of New York. In fact it is the only kind of building except theaters which has the safeguards that we have been taught to believe essential for the preservation of life, health and morality. The one-family house has not these safeguards, nor has the two-family house. The Asch building fire called attention forcibly to the fact that lofts, factories and office buildings lack these safeguards. The tenement house as built to-day comes nearest of any building to being properly protected, but it is still very inadequate in many particulars.

From the ideal point of view New York's greatest housing need is a thorough revision of the tenement-house law. That is a difficult thing to bring about. It would be advantageous if we could materially increase the minimum width of courts, not the inner court, 24 feet wide, but the narrower one, only six feet and six inches. Similarly, it is highly desirable to increase the size of the back yard to allow more light at the rear of the building; but it is practically impossible to do it by law. Unless we wait until the time is ripe, changes in the law are likely to mean not progress, but retrogression. The legislative game is a dangerous one.

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.

The next need is the regulation of houses other than tenements. A dark inner bedroom in a two-family house is just as dangerous from the point of view of tuberculosis as one in a three or four-family house. The two-family houses which are building in the outskirts of our city are practically unregulated. They may have no yards, no windows, no toilet facilities and no running water; rooms may be as small as the builder wishes to make them, and absolutely dark; of all the safeguards thrown around the tenement dweller, none is provided in the two or one-family house. In many of our progressive western cities, on the other hand, the housing laws apply to the one and two-family houses, and the same requirement should be made in Greater New York. The great field of building operations of residence building is in Queens and in the Bronx. This is often forgotten by residents of Manhattan; actually more theaters than private residences were built in the borough of Manhattan last year. The far-sighted student, however, will look to the future of the outlying boroughs.

Much can be done in improving the enforcement of the tenement house law, by coöperation with the tenement-house department, which is doing admirable work. It is important to find out the facts and get at the view of the public official, to see the limitations under which he is working, and give him due credit for the good work he has done as well as to hold him responsible for poor work.

Another housing need is the education of tenants. The great mass of tenement-house dwellers in New York city need to be taught how to live. A large part of the housing evils in American cities are due to the people themselves, to their ignorance, their lack of leisure time and their undue hours of labor. These all make it easy to fall into bad habits of living. Similarly the landlords and builders ought to be educated. That is a much more difficult task than the education of tenants, and yet it is not a hopeless one. The height of buildings ought to be regulated, and especially the erection of high buildings ought to be checked in the outlying districts of the city. There are large stretches in Queens and Richmond and the Bronx, nothing more than farm land, amid which five and six-story

tenement houses are going up. That should be restricted by law. It is serious not only for tenants in the outlying districts, but even for the business sections of the city. People in general are beginning to realize that unregulated building is not a wise thing for them, for their investment or for the community.

New York is doing little about city-planning. Many of the housing evils in this city have been due to the lot 100 feet deep, no matter what its width. Yet we are cutting up farm land and acreage to-day and making it into lots 20 feet by 120 and 100 feet. That is happening all over America, and it is preparing trouble for future generations. It could all be obviated by a wise study of the possibilities of the small lot of shallow depth, and sometimes of narrow width.

As to room overcrowding, no city in America has ever done anything. Some persons believe that it affects this community more than any other evil, but we have no data to warrant any definite conclusion.

Notwithstanding all these needs New York is strongly to be commended for having done so much. She has done more in the last ten years in the cause of housing reform than any other city in the world has done in the same length of time, and more than any other American city is doing to-day.

(664)

THE PROTECTION OF FACTORY WORKERS¹

GEORGE M. PRICE, M. D.

State Factory Investigating Commission

THE interpretation of the term "protection of factory workers" has undergone great changes since first the need of such protection became evident. It is interesting to trace the various stages in the evolution of this idea from its birth until the present time.

The first theoretical impulse was given by the epoch-making treatise of Rammazzini *On the Diseases of the Artizans*, published at the end of the seventeenth century and translated into English in 1705. In this book we first find a description of various diseases of occupations and a statement of the need for the protection of the worker from these diseases. Forty years later appeared the work of Dr. Pringle *On the Diseases of the Army*, followed in 1753 by Dr. Lind's *On the Means of Preserving the Health of the Seamen* and by Dr. Blane's *Observations on the Diseases of the Seamen*, published in 1785.

Almost simultaneously with the birth of the modern factory system in the latter part of the eighteenth century came philanthropic efforts to protect workers from the abuses of this system. The agitations of Hanway, Dr. Percival, Dr. Ferriar, and a host of others,—the forefathers of the present child-labor committees, so to speak, bore fruit in the enactment in 1802 of the first factory act protecting the health of children working in cotton factories. The history of the progress of labor legislation and of enactments for the protection of factory workers since 1802 is replete with interest, but cannot be discussed here. Beginning with the protection of pauper child-apprentices in cotton factories, protection has gradually been extended until it now comprehends various conditions of the life and labor of the whole working class.

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.

It is interesting to analyze the protection of factory workers as it is found at present in civilized countries. The measures fall broadly into five classes which may be sub-divided as follows:

1. *The Worker*

(a) Age.

Limitation, restriction and prohibition of child work.

(b) Sex.

Limitation, restriction and prohibition of woman's work.

(c) Industrial education.

(d) Vocational guidance.

2. *Working Conditions*

(a) Wages.

(b) Hours of labor.

(c) Conditions of labor.

3. *The Workshop*

(a) Construction.

(b) Fire protection.

(c) Light and illumination.

(d) Ventilation.

(e) Sanitary care.

(f) Sanitary comforts.

4. *Dangers of Occupation*

(a) Safeguarding of machinery.

(b) Dusty trades.

(c) Industrial poisons, gases and fumes.

(d) Infectious materials and extra-hazardous labor.

5. *Social Protection*

(a) Right of labor organization.

(b) Housing of the working classes.

(c) Prevention of accident; accident insurance.

(d) Prevention of unemployment; unemployment insurance.

(e) Prevention of sickness; sickness insurance.

(f) Prevention of excessive industrial mortality; industrial mortality insurance.

The agencies for the protection of factory workers are many and various. These agencies rarely take in the whole range of the work, but limit themselves to one or more of the divisions of labor protection enumerated above. These several agencies can be classified as follows:

- (1) Philanthropic organizations.
- (2) Employers.
- (3) Labor organizations.
- (4) The state.
- (5) The industry.

(1) The number of *philanthropic organizations* started from time to time with the purpose of agitating for the protection of factory workers is large. As already mentioned, the rise of the humanitarian spirit dates far back to the end of the seventeenth century. As a rule the specific phases of protection which philanthropic bodies take up are child labor and woman's work.

(2) As far as the protection of workers by *employers* themselves is concerned, since the time of Robert Owen there have been a large number of enlightened and liberal employers who have endeavored to introduce better conditions into their industrial establishments and to ameliorate the condition of the workers in their employ. In most cases this protection has been in the form of improved sanitary conditions of factories, and in certain limitations of hours of labor.

(3) The protection of factory workers by *labor organizations* has been mostly in the increase of wages and in the lessening of the hours of labor.

(4) The protection which factory workers receive from the *state* is usually a result, on the one hand, of the agitation of philanthropic bodies, and on the other hand, of the increasing demands of labor organizations, which are often endorsed by enlightened employers.

The forms of protection by the *state* are many and embody practically all the measures enumerated above. Much pressure must be brought upon legislative bodies and much agitation must be carried on before the state exerts its powers. The protection of factory workers depends naturally upon the definiteness and lucidity of the laws, and upon the creation of proper and intelligent organizations for enforcing them.

(5) The protection of the workers by the *industry* seems to be an ideal method, but is practical only when the components of the industry—the employers, the employes and the consuming public—are educated to a point where their interests may be mutually combined and protected by one another. This is really an intelligent coöperation of the three principal partners in an industry, and would afford the best protection for the employes and the industry, especially if such protection were conducted with the coöperation of the state.

I wish in no wise to belittle the efforts and the work of any institutions or organizations for the protection of factory workers, but it seems to me that the time has arrived when such protection is largely to be entrusted to the industry itself, working coöperatively with the other legitimate protective agencies.

My suggestions, therefore, to this end are:

To form a closer coöperation between the various agencies for the protection of workers, including a centralization and unification of philanthropic bodies and their coöperation with labor organizations and industrial societies.

To compel industrial employers to be responsible, in coöperation with the state, for the protection of their workers.

Such a general concentration of forces on the improvement of industrial conditions would inevitably result in a more progressive system of protection for workers than we now have.

(668)

THE EDUCATION OF MOTHERS AND THE SAVING OF BABIES¹

PHILIP VAN INGEN, M. D.

Medical Director, New York Milk Committee

THE subject of infant mortality is too well known to you all to require many words from me. I wish merely to emphasize one or two facts which have a direct bearing on my subject. In a general way 25% of the deaths of children under one year of age belong to that class vaguely called "wasting diseases" by the English, or equally vaguely "congenital debility and malnutrition" in our country. To this latter group belong deaths which we ascribe to marasmus, prematurity, congenital debility, and so forth, thus clothing our ignorance in high-sounding terms. It is generally admitted that we can or ought to be able to prevent a large number of these deaths.

The keynote of modern medical and philanthropic effort is prevention. It is strange how slow we have been to apply preventive methods to the problem of infant mortality. Dispensaries and hospitals do a much-needed work, but comparatively speaking their preventive work is, or has been till lately, far from efficient.

The causes of infant mortality are many and varied. Practically all the great social questions of to-day have a direct relation to the problem, but in the last analysis the great underlying causes are poverty and ignorance. Poverty is a problem we always have. Its effect upon a baby's chance to live will perhaps always exist to a certain extent; but ignorance—and many things laid to poverty really should be laid in large part to ignorance—we can fight, prevent and cure.

In Greater New York during the last few years the idea of instruction has been coming more and more to the front, and it is my belief, and that of the New York Milk Committee, whom

¹ Read at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.

I represent, that the instruction of the mother is our most valuable weapon in preventing the waste of baby lives. It is within the reach of all organizations or groups trying to better conditions in their localities.

The New York Milk Committee was one of a number of organizations to carry on last summer a vigorous campaign of education through milk stations. The keynote of the campaign was educational prevention of sickness through contact of mother and baby with nurse and physician. The necessity of maternal nursing was preached faithfully. Of 2,132 babies under observation between June 1st and September 15th, 32.4% were breast-fed throughout. For those already weaned, or for whom breast feeding was impossible, pure milk was provided—not already prepared for the baby, but whole milk. The mother was taught at her home by the nurse to prepare the milk herself according to the physician's orders. So important did we consider this instruction that milk was refused unless mothers attended consultations at the stations regularly and carried out instructions.

But though this work was a most valuable one, it was found when we tabulated our statistics that only about 2% of our babies were under two months of age, while about one-third of all baby deaths occur in the first month of life. We were still more impressed with the fact that to do our work we must get at those babies. I say still more, because we had already been working on these lines. Through the assistance of Dr. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation we had been able to put one nurse on expectant mother work, and very soon had to add another.

The figures given for total deaths under one year in New York city for 1911 were 15,030, exclusive of still births. Still births totaled 6,378. In France statistics show that pregnancy lasts 20 days longer among women keeping moderately quiet during the latter months; that children of women carrying on tiring work weigh about 220 grams (about 6 ounces) less than those doing moderate work; that the children of women keeping moderately quiet during the last two or three months of pregnancy weigh 300 grams (about 9 ounces) more than the children of those who work up to the last minute. In other words, the babies have a better start in life.

In France the *Mutualité Maternelle*, which has spread all over the country, gives a small indemnity to pregnant women, allowing them to keep quiet during the last weeks of pregnancy and after labor, so that they can nurse their babies. In the Paris society in 1903, 12.8% of all pregnancies resulted in still births or miscarriages. In 1904 there were only 7.5%; in 1905, 6.7%; and in 1906, 4.5%.

In the summer of 1911 our nurses came into contact with nearly 1,000 expectant mothers. Five hundred of these have since been confined. Four of the babies were still born and there were three miscarriages. Eight babies died during the first month of life. In New York city about $\frac{1}{20}$ (or 4.7%) of all pregnancies were reported as ending in still birth. Early miscarriages in all probability would not be included in these figures, as they would not be reported. Among our 500 cases, counting both still births and miscarriages, the figure is 1.4%. Roughly speaking, 41.3 per thousand babies born in New York city died under one month of age; among our babies, 16 per thousand.

The plan already being carried out, and very shortly to be greatly extended, is as follows: A nurse specially trained for her work is detailed to a definite district. Through coöperation with milk stations, dispensaries, and various social organizations, she gets into touch with expectant mothers. The effort is made to do so as early in pregnancy as possible. The family conditions are estimated by one or more visits to the home. The advice given is not cut-and-dried, but is adapted to the individual needs and possibilities in the case. If it is a first baby, the mother is urged to go to a physician or hospital for examination at once. She is told to keep herself in the best physical condition, is advised what to eat and what not to eat; is urged to avoid hard work as far as possible during late pregnancy. She is taught the necessity for the baby, and the saving to herself, of nursing it. She is told how to prepare clothing for the baby. She is urged not to intrust herself to an ignorant midwife, but to go to a physician or hospital. She is helped to secure this attention by information and advice. She is seen by the nurse every week or ten days before confine-

ment—oftener if necessary; and afterward mother and baby are kept under observation for a month, by which time it is hoped they will be able to come under the care of a physician or milk station.

This is a brief outline but should indicate the lines along which organizations doing neighborhood or settlement work, visiting nurses' associations, churches, general charitable organizations and milk stations can work to prevent the waste of infant lives and the misery and sorrow going therewith.

Mr. Alderman Broadbent of Huddersfield, who, when he was mayor, was able in a single year to reduce greatly the infant mortality of his city by offering to every baby born in his term of office one pound in gold on its first birthday, says: "In motherhood, properly instructed and respected, there is a potentiality of health and well-being for future generations beyond the dreams of the most enthusiastic sanitarian."

This is an effort, not only to save baby lives, but to make babies stronger and healthier from the very start, to make them still more worth saving. It should therefore appeal to the eugenist as well as to those who consider the waste of life a scandal in any community.

(672)

THE PROTECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN

Registrar of Records, Tenement House Department, New York

THE most urgent social needs of New York city, of whatever kind, are closely bound up with the city's immigrant population. This port receives over two-thirds of the total immigration to the country each year, and this number makes its presence felt, either in transit to a final destination out of the city, or through residence, temporary or permanent, in the city.

The mass of the incoming immigrants are poor, illiterate, ignorant of the country and its ways, and afraid of new ventures. Under the contract-labor law, moreover, they cannot secure themselves by definite offers of work which might induce many of them to pass at once through the city to the interior.

In consequence large numbers of the new immigrants linger in the city, for the immediate practical advantages they gain. This city, in particular, both because of and in spite of its crowded population, is the great labor market for the unskilled, and here the newly arrived immigrant finds, as he does not in smaller towns, others of his own kind, who speak his language and know his ways, while they have also become used to the ways of the new country, and are able to give him the first lessons he needs in order to gain a foothold.

Against the immediate material advantages to the immigrant of this lingering in the city, however, must be set the social and moral disadvantages to the immigrant himself, and to the city he is overfilling. A great influx of poor people into a restricted area means bad housing—overcrowding, lack of light and ventilation, lack of privacy, and difficult sanitation—conditions which make strongly toward physical and moral degeneracy. Conditions of labor, though temporarily favorable, are not permanently so. Though employment is easily gained in the big

labor market, the work offered is of a low grade and is likely to be periodic or temporary, while the wages are low. This tends to keep the immigrant a shifting, underpaid laborer, unable to maintain a decent, permanent home.

Moreover, the big foreign colony of a city, while affording a welcome refuge for the new immigrant, has its own evil influences to throw about him. In the colony swarm sharpers of every description, who make their living entirely at the expense of their inexperienced and poverty-stricken countrymen. They meet him at the very port of entry, and begin the fleecing process by outrageous charges for transportation, expressage and hotel accommodations. Then come extravagant charges for procuring the immediate job on which his life depends. Then "bankers" come to the front, ready to absorb the little savings as they begin to accumulate, and convert to their own use what was meant for the helpless family at home, or for the starting of the little business which would give comparative independence. And so on,—the list is endless.

As a result of all these conditions, is it any wonder that the city has to struggle under a considerable burden of foreign dependence and delinquency?

For many years, private agencies have been at work to obviate some of these evils—to protect the immigrant from extortion on his first arrival, to find him employment, and if possible to get him out of the city. Different religious bodies and organizations representing different nationalities have maintained immigrant homes and employment agencies near the landing station, and have had accredited agents at the station to protect helpless newcomers. Some of these societies in their turn having developed abuses of their own have been suppressed by the immigration authorities, and others have taken their place.

With the beginning of the great influx of Hebrews, some twenty years ago, special work in their behalf was started by Jewish philanthropists, and with the coming of the Italians, means of protection and aid were provided especially for them. The most notable large undertaking for the benefit of Hebrew immigrants is that supported by the Baron de Hirsch

Fund, and an especially interesting feature of this work has been that of inducing emigration from the crowded cities to agricultural districts. It must be confessed that no large diminution of city crowding has been made by these efforts; for, according to information gathered in 1909 by the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, which carries on the agricultural work of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, there were only about 15,000 Hebrews in rural communities all over the United States. The number of farms worked by Hebrews was said to be 2,701, and the number of farmers was 3,040. This society, realizing that attempts to colonize a non-agricultural people on cheap unimproved land cannot be expected to succeed, has recently made provision for instruction in farming on an experimental farm established in Long Island. This is in addition to the well-known farm schools in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

As far as the experiment in agricultural transplantation has gone with the Hebrew, it has been found to have a beneficial effect. There has been an especial improvement in physical health, and the ownership of land has developed independence, self-reliance and self-respect.

A more promising avenue of distribution of Hebrew immigrants, as far as numbers is concerned, is that along industrial rather than agricultural lines. The Industrial Removal Office has been engaged for the past eleven years in finding homes and employment outside of New York city for Hebrew immigrants and their families, mainly in industrial pursuits. During that period they have established 58,415 persons (of whom about 30,000 were wage-earners) in 1,388 cities and towns, 53,704 of the number being sent out by the New York office, and 4,711 by the Philadelphia and Boston branches. Of those sent out from New York, 31,638, or nearly 60%, went to the central states, 14% found homes in the Middle Atlantic, 13% in the western and 10% in the southern states.

The report of this society observes that the work of removal is difficult, owing to "the prejudice and timidity of our applicants regarding the unknown lands to which they were contemplating removing." Even with outside aid it takes the immigrant some time to make up his mind to move, as is seen from

the statement in the report that of the persons removed in 1911 over three-quarters had been in New York over three years. It is interesting to note that 21 % of the wage-earners distributed in ten years of activity followed the needle trades, and 30 % had no definite trade. This last group included peddlers. It is also interesting to find that less than 2 % of the removals made have turned out to be unsatisfactory or are still doubtful. Nearly all of the persons removed have remained and succeeded in the places to which they were originally sent.

An organization covering the field of immediate protection for arriving Jewish immigrants is the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society. This society proposes to "keep track of each and every Jewish immigrant passing through the port of New York"—not only to see that they reach their destination in safety, but to look after their further welfare by way of helping to secure employment and discouraging settlement in congested cities. This society has found it comparatively easy to follow up the Jewish immigrants whose destination is outside of New York, and reports that "immigrants in the interior are all self-supporting, are eager to learn English, and bring even their babies to the kindergarten." But much more difficulty has been experienced in keeping in touch with the large mass who settle down in the city, either temporarily or permanently.

A strong organization, the Society for Italian Immigrants, enjoying a subvention from the Italian government in addition to a private subscription list, does a similar work for Italian immigrants. This society meets Italian immigrants at the pier, gives escort service and shelter, finds employment, looks after the transmission of money, and in short, takes the place of "next friend" to the newcomer in whatever way he needs it. During the year 1911, nearly 24,000 emigrants and immigrants were escorted, nearly 18,000 were lodged at the home of the society, and over \$28,000 of the immigrants' money was cared for or transmitted.

This society has furthermore taken a hand in the very necessary task of educating the illiterate immigrant. Under its auspices, the first schools in labor camps were started for instruction in English, and these schools have afforded not only

this necessary first step to good citizenship, but a useful social diversion to lonely men shut up in the unnatural surroundings of a temporary camp.

Of especial interest are the society's efforts to procure work for Italian immigrants and to assist in the process of distribution. This society is now the principal non-commercial employment exchange for Italians, having recently taken over the work of a labor bureau for Italians formerly under the auspices of the Italian government.

During the past year 3,493 immigrants applied for work at the society's bureau, and requests for 1,425 laborers were made, but only 528 laborers were actually placed. A light not only upon this misfit, but upon the whole question of the agricultural distribution of immigrants is thrown by the statement in the report for 1912 that

requests for Italian farm hands are persistent, but not of the kind any capable or intelligent Italian farm hand would accept. Wages and conditions offered are, as a rule, below any passable living standard, and the Italian farmer has grown to understand that unless a contract or a clear statement is offered him, he is often deprived of his legitimate earnings or taken advantage of in some way.

Other societies and individuals in the past have made efforts to transplant Italians to agricultural regions, but the net result of this work in numbers of persons settled is not large. Of all the Italian working men now in the country only a little over 6% are engaged in agricultural pursuits, although it is estimated that over 60% come from rural districts of Italy, where practically all were farmers or farm laborers. Throughout the country, however, are found agricultural settlements of Italians, many of them started by outside aid, ranging from groups of two or three households to three hundred and fifty households, which are prospering, and which serve as nuclei for further accretions.

A society calling itself the North American Civic League for Immigrants was started in 1908 with the ambitious purpose of looking after all the immigrants throughout the country, and of "doing all things which will result in making immigrants into efficient Americans." Its program includes protection,

education, distribution and assimilation, and is to be carried out by correlating the work of all agencies now busy among immigrants, rather than by doing direct work of its own.

In New York, the league has organized an immigrant guide and transfer system, has assisted in bringing immigrant children to the schools, has conducted investigations, and has made a survey of the New York laws affecting immigrants, with a view to the enforcement, repeal and amendment of such laws. It is difficult, however, to measure the actual accomplishment of this league in any very definite way, as its reports are more largely taken up with the evils to be combated than with results of the combat.

It must be plain after even so incomplete a sketch as the present that private organizations are not by any means covering the field of protection and distribution, though their activities are most creditable in view of the restricted means at their disposal.

It would seem that governmental bodies, with their greater resources and their more comprehensive powers of control, must be invoked to attain the greater accomplishment desired. This has recently been done by the creation in 1910 of a new bureau of industries and immigration in the state department of labor, to carry on for New York state the same big tasks with which the private organizations have been struggling. Unfortunately, the report of its first year's work seems to show a smaller record of accomplishment than the same year's work of the stronger private bodies.

One reason is obvious. Although the bureau has had laid upon it a multiplicity of mandatory duties, it was given, as its first year's appropriation, less than \$10,000, an amount less than one-third of the annual income of the Society for Italian Immigrants. Another reason is that too small a proportion of the bureau's work is directly administrative, and too much of its time has been taken up with investigations which served mainly to reveal conditions of abuse already familiar, and with scattering tasks of unofficial coöperation, the results of which cannot be seen or measured.

This bureau has succeeded, however, in securing greater

safety for immigrants' savings through the better regulation of immigrant banks, has brought under state control the employment agencies dealing chiefly with aliens, has registered and inspected homes and philanthropic organizations which distribute aliens, and has secured the passage of an immigrant lodging-place law, which is applicable to labor camps and will assist in reducing the evils which flourish in such communities.

The federal government itself has taken a hand in the general work through its newly-created division of information in the bureau of immigration. This division attempts to provide the entering immigrant with reliable information as to the country and its resources, which will help him to find his way to the interior of the country and secure employment. The division was organized under the Immigration Law of 1907, and has done a creditable amount of work since that time. In 1911, over 30,000 applicants received information for themselves and others, representing perhaps over 100,000 people helped by the division. Of the applicants for that year, 1,293 were Hebrews, and only 624 were Italians, while 1,629 were Danes, 1,568 Norwegians, 1,882 Swedes, 5,148 Germans and 5,211 Poles—the latter all peoples who naturally take to agriculture, and all, except the Poles, of the early immigration. During the year this division actually distributed 5,176 immigrants, of whom 1,127 were Germans and 1,044 were Poles. Only 51 Hebrews and 51 Italians were placed by this means.

It seems that even government bodies are not accomplishing a great deal in comparison with the mass of immigrants to be dealt with. What may be suggested as a more adequate means for meeting the situation than those now being employed?

Perhaps the surest method is a drastic restriction of immigration, so that we shall not be swamped by an ever-rising flood, while endeavoring to cope with the numbers already here. In the past the problem seemed simpler. It was thought that with an adequate entrance test, excluding undesirable immigrants, and with the great demand for unskilled labor caused by our developing industries, the immigrant once admitted could shift for himself, with no further damage to himself or the community than slight incidental disturbances arising in the course of adjustment.

We have come to see that adjustment is no such simple matter. The administration of entrance tests is a more or less wholesale affair, and is the work of a day or an hour or a minute, perhaps, for each immigrant. The work of protection and distribution after the immigrant arrives, on the other hand, must be intensive and individual; it must extend over periods of months or years.

If we cannot have restriction to help us catch up with our work, a measure of help to New York would be the diversion of immigration by government regulation of some sort, to other ports, nearer to the sparsely settled territory where immigrants are desired. In default of federal aid along this line, the state and the city may help by taking measures to distribute industries as well as laborers. It has been shown that the great attraction of the city to the immigrant is the opportunity for employment it offers. New York is not only a great trading center, it is also one of the greatest factory cities in the world, and the removal of a considerable proportion of the factories from crowded centers to suburban districts, through discriminating taxation or otherwise, would mean an automatic dispersion of our foreign working population. Other means are the improvements in transportation and housing that we need for our population at large, and finally, of course, a continued development of the agencies already at work, both public and private.

(680)

CHARITABLE RELIEF

W. FRANK PERSONS

Superintendent, Charity Organization Society of the City of New York

TO all thoughtful persons the term "charitable relief" signifies more than assistance in the form of monetary aid. It comprehends also the great variety of services, material and other, which are bestowed upon needy persons by individuals and by the rapidly increasing number of agencies now doing practical, personal work in the homes of the poor.

The next step to be taken in the administration of charitable relief, as thus defined, is in the direction of securing unity and efficiency in such social service. This conclusion becomes obvious upon a study of the present situation and the prevailing tendencies in charitable endeavor.

There are more than a thousand private institutions and societies in New York city offering charitable relief to the poor. During the past five years there has been a remarkable extension and diversification of the help available for the destitute and suffering, especially in the sphere of public medical service. About twenty social-service departments of hospitals and dispensaries have been established. It is their purpose to put physicians in touch with home conditions, to relate patients to other agencies whose services may be needed, and to enable discharged patients to re-establish themselves permanently in the industrial world without the extraordinary strain which too often occurs.

There is now complete sanitary supervision of tuberculosis. Hundreds of nurses are visiting the homes of those patients who do not employ private physicians. These nurses do not, and cannot, ignore factors affecting the health and welfare of other members of such families as well as of the patients themselves.

There are hundreds of visiting school nurses. Each one realizes that the child's physical defect, which it is her business to have corrected, is frequently a symptom of unfavorable home

conditions. These may require not only her attention but the services of one or of several special agencies to assure the continuing health of the child.

The teacher nurses and milk-station nurses, who in growing numbers are rendering increasingly valuable services in the homes of the poor, cannot succeed in their work as they wish to do without full knowledge of the needs and resources of each of the families with which they deal.

There is certain to be a further extension of social service in connection with medical relief. This is but another way of saying that there is certain to be a wider and deeper appreciation of the necessity of considering and treating the needs of the whole family, even when the illness of one member seems to require special attention.

This reference to the development taking place in the work of medical agencies is but an illustration of the growing consciousness, spreading widely throughout the community, that the real relief of need, in most instances, means the treatment of a family problem. The whole family must be considered with respect to the conditions, needs and possibilities of each of its members. The treatment of the whole problem thus presented must be continued until self-dependence becomes possible and assured, or until some form of continuing assistance is provided. Otherwise results worth while will not be attained.

In striving to attain such results, which are the only results worthy the ideals of present-day charitable relief, the agencies concerned are delving deeper into the essential facts of their cases, making broader plans, holding more persistently to their purposes, keeping more useful records and developing a more coöperative spirit. They are drawing closer together in their work with particular families. They are uniting to attack, in accord with a common plan, the problems there presented.

It is generally conceded that this working together is mutually helpful and that it makes for efficiency and economy. That it occurs too infrequently is due largely to the fact that there is no common, ready and certain means of information as to all that is being done for any particular family.

It seems clear, therefore, that the next step to be taken in
(682)

the organization of charitable relief in this city is to find the means and the method by which such information may be made quickly available upon inquiry—or even without inquiry. It is entirely practicable, by a simple device, to enable each of the various agencies whose work may at any time be focused upon the same family to share in the knowledge, experience and plans of the others. The instrument which may be employed for this purpose is the Confidential Exchange of Information, for which there is now in this city a most pressing need.

The Confidential Exchange of Information will become a central bureau of registration of the names and addresses of all the families under care of those agencies which make use of it. For each of these families there will be a card on which will be written also the names of all the agencies who are, or have been in touch with the family and who have records or available knowledge concerning it. No other information will be recorded save that which is necessary to assure identification—as, for instance, the names and ages of children, and the ages and occupations of other members of the family.

It is perhaps desirable to emphasize the confidential character of such an exchange of information. The number of names registered in New York city would in a short time become very large. A consolidation of the present registration bureaus of the Charity Organization Society, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the United Hebrew Charities would afford an initial registration of nearly three hundred thousand names. Any one name would be absolutely lost in such a vast number and would come to the attention only of those interested persons who might make inquiry concerning the family. Although personal interests and feelings would thus be carefully protected, the mass of registration itself would afford many social data of value in determining the character, prevalence and causes of need, and in planning further preventive and constructive effort. The extent to which studies for such purposes could be carried would be limited only by the time and money available to keep the necessary records. The exchange would thus become the means of a general public service. Its immediate purpose, however, and its greatest value

would be in the every-day work of the administration of charitable relief.

Any society or interested individual about to investigate the needs of a family or to give assistance should first of all make inquiry of the Confidential Exchange either by letter or by telephone, preferably the latter. Instantly the names of all other agencies already acquainted with the family would become known. The exchange would, in turn, at once notify each of these agencies of the new inquiry. Its responsibility would then end, and it would lie with the agencies concerned to confer, to share their information and their plans, and to make such new plans as the occasion might require.

The Confidential Exchange, as thus conducted, will safeguard the privacy of the families whose names are registered, by avoiding duplication of investigation. A family under the continuing and sufficient care of one organization will be protected against the undesirable and unintentional invasion of its home by another society. In instances where coöperation is desirable the use of the exchange will afford opportunity for effective team work by the various agencies whose services are required.

There need be no unconscious interference by one society or individual with the success of plans carefully made and worked out by someone else, as now frequently occurs. The families themselves may be saved from the confusion and distraction of the conflicting plans of agencies not in coöperation. The various agencies in the community will surely profit by a saving of time, effort and money, by interchange of experiences and by closer relationships.

The essential purpose and most valuable service of the Confidential Exchange, however, will be in promoting coöperation and in stimulating thereby the development of thorough-going case treatment. Concerted and effective action, as early in the history of the family's need as possible, will result in rehabilitation of family life in a larger proportion of cases. This is the basis of our hope for the reduction of the number of persons in poverty, and for the development of preventive measures to eradicate many of the causes which now bring the poor into distress.

SOCIAL WORK OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS¹

JOHN MARTIN

Member Board of Education, New York City

WITH all modesty it may be asserted that New York city continues to lead the continent, and probably the world, in the social use of the buildings, grounds, and staff of the school system. So extensive are the activities of the board of education outside of purely educational work, so generous is the expenditure on recreation, music, dancing, concerts, lectures and the like, that few citizens, even in New York itself, realize what a wide and well-managed social work is conducted regularly in the school buildings at public expense. Not infrequently, when some smaller city imitates one or two of New York's multiform and well-established school activities,—recreation centers, evening lectures for adults, mixed dances or the like—the experiment is proclaimed throughout the land as a brand-new, daringly original feat, a signal discovery of a socialist mayor or of a wonderfully efficient commission government.

In the winter season just closed the recreation centers of Greater New York have been attended nightly, six times a week, from October to May, by over 17,500 people. Some 650 clubs—athletic, literary, social, musical, civic, dramatic, dancing and parental—each with its regular organization, have found in these centers a comfortable home, teachers to advise and help, and facilities of all sorts. Boys and girls have played parlor games, practised gymnastics under trained instructors, and competed for basket-ball trophies. Those of a more intellectual turn have attended literary clubs, where readings, recitations, essays and debates on current topics have filled the evening.

¹ Expanded from remarks made in discussion at the meeting of The Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912. Reprinted by permission from *The Survey* of May 18th, 1912.

Forty-one centers included classes in vocal and instrumental music in which forty or fifty youths and maidens, under the guidance of a competent pianist, have sung such old and popular airs as "Way Down Upon the Suwanee River" and "The Star-spangled Banner." Often, to vary the proceedings, some budding Caruso or Sembrich would come forward with characteristic musically diffidence to warble a solo. On other evenings a cornet or a violin in skilled hands would make the rafters ring. A few years of such training will doubtless make the citizens of New York as musical as those of any German city and will open new avenues of enjoyment to thousands.

While social workers have been lamenting the vicious influence of dancing halls, the board of education has deprived these resorts of many prospective customers by conducting, at fifteen centers, mixed dancing classes under proper chaperonage. The board furnished piano music and often the clubs themselves added to the gaiety by bringing cornets and violins. Good music with jolly and modest dances was encouraged. Little effort was necessary to bar the grizzly bear, the turkey trot and other indecencies which have invaded high society.

Boy Scouts have held regular meetings for drill and organization under the patronage of the board of education, to which no scheme for the physical or moral uplift of youngsters or their parents seems to come amiss. Still looking for new ways to be of service, the board recently granted the use of a school building to a special committee which has undertaken to organize neighborhood activities and to correlate the lectures, the people's forums, the musical evenings, the clubs and the classes. It expects to demonstrate how neighbors of all ages and tastes may be accommodated in the school building to still further advantage.

Under the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer money was left to supply concerts of the highest quality, free of charge, to the masses. The board of education gladly coöperated by granting the use of the assembly halls and organs in the high schools. Consequently a series of orchestral and vocal performances, not unfit to be classed with the Philharmonic concerts, has been given in many sections of the city to very large audiences.

Even the moving-picture theaters have not gone unchallenged. In coöperation with a committee of the People's Institute, a series of educational moving-picture exhibitions was shown to great crowds of spectators. Though the somewhat overzealous interference of the fire department, which objected to the form of protection provided for the lanterns, stopped this work temporarily, no doubt it will be resumed. After a trial of Sunday evening concerts and lectures under the management of a voluntary committee, the free use of some high-school assembly halls was recently granted for two series of meetings, which promise to be as useful to the non-church-goers as the gatherings which have made Cooper Union famous. A new departure has been made by allowing a collection to be taken toward defraying expenses. This clears the audience of the sense of being pauperized, and, by reducing the cost of the performances, renders extension of the work more easy.

Apart from the recreation centers the public lecture system continues to flourish. About a million adults have attended the illustrated lectures in science, civics, history, travel, music, art and literature. All were given by competent lecturers, who were bound to hold their audiences by the interest and force of their remarks, since, unlike college students, the listeners were free to show their displeasure with poor work by quietly withdrawing or by staying away.

Funds have been provided for continuing, though not for enlarging, during the coming summer, the social activities in the vacation, evening, roof and open-air playgrounds for children and mothers and babies, which last year were conspicuously successful and extensive. In 1911 no fewer than 832 teachers were employed in aiding 125,500 daily visitors at these various play centers to amuse themselves rationally and healthfully—a regiment of school soldiers of the common good which no other city could duplicate. Swings, seesaws, and other apparatus were so vigorously used that it is doubtful whether they will last through another season. Mothers and babies sought the quiet and shade of their special playgrounds. On the roof playgrounds bands of musicians played for promenaders and girl dancers. Gymnasts, baseball and basket-ball players and

folk dancers practised for tournaments or simply played for the fun of playing. Nobody can measure the good which the 248 playgrounds did for the hundreds of thousands who made up the aggregate attendance of 5,955,160.

Altogether, the tale of the social uses of the New York schools is encouraging and creditable. Much remains to be done, which the board of education is eager to do as soon as the keepers of Father Knickerbocker's purse will permit; but enough has been accomplished to prove the beneficence and wisdom of utilizing to the full the buildings, the organization and the teaching skill of the school system for social enjoyment and elevation.

(688)

COÖPERATION OF THE CHURCHES IN HOUSING REFORM¹

JAMES JENKINS, JR.

Director of the Department of Social Betterment, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities

FROM our experience on the Tenement House Committee I believe that social workers have not sufficiently appreciated the importance of connecting the churches with various social movements. I will refer briefly to a campaign in Brooklyn. The Tenement House Committee took up a specific piece of work, the elimination of the dark room, realizing that it was a source of immorality and disease. We secured the coöperation of the churches, giving each church a specific district. In each district they were to see if the tenements had dark rooms, if so to report them, also to follow up these cases and see that the city department did its work. The result was that forty thousand dark rooms were eliminated in Brooklyn. I think that the reason the churches have not been more active in social work is because they do not generally understand what they are to do. Our experience showed that if the work was explained to them exactly they would go ahead and do it.

We are going to take up the sanitary conditions next, and we wish again to have the churches' help. In this case they will be given certain districts and will be asked to do the same kind of work that they did before. The Brooklyn Men and Religion Movement suggested that there should be a committee in each church, made up of a lawyer, a doctor and a business man, to consider all legislative measures and act immediately in supporting or opposing them. The favorable progress of tenement legislation during the past year was largely due to its consistent backing in New York.

As a forward step in housing reform, would it not be a good plan to form tenants' guilds of the people in a group of tene-

¹ Discussion at the meeting of the Academy of Political Science, April 18, 1912.
(689)

ments, a block or a street or a small section of a district, and try to interest the people to keep their houses in as good condition as possible; also to teach them to use the various safety devices?

I wish to endorse heartily the suggestion made by Mr. Veiller for the regulation of two-family houses. Many of these houses have as bad conditions in the way of dark rooms and bad plumbing as the worst tenements. We are told that room-overcrowding is unhealthy and increases immorality, but we have never had a competent investigation to show the exact results of this congestion. This investigation could be best made by night inspection. This inspection would be difficult but it could be accomplished and it would give us the real facts about room-overcrowding.

(690)

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL WORK

ADDRESSES AT THE DINNER OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 18, 1912

PRESIDENT LINDSAY: The subject for this evening's discussion is "Religious Organizations and Social Work." Religious organizations from the beginning have been engaged in social work, and social workers are necessarily engaged in religious work. That is a fundamental point to keep in mind in a discussion like this. Monsignor Mooney, the personal representative of Cardinal Farley, will open our discussion.

MONSIGNOR MOONEY: As the chairman has stated, my part in this evening's proceedings is to represent Cardinal Farley, who is necessarily absent. If he were here, he would be pleased to signify his appreciation of the courtesy of the Academy in extending the kind invitation to him to be their guest, as well as his accord with the general purposes and aims of the Academy. This is what he charged me to say and I only regret that he himself is not here to say it, for in that case, it is needless to remark, it would be much better said.

Speaking then solely for myself, I would aver that the religious body to which I belong believes that she will attain success in social work by coöperating with that intelligent and broad-minded public with whose views upon the ethical side of social questions she in general agrees. This is the stand which she is willing and ready to take. To the church it is most gratifying to feel that on this platform she can come to agreement with men of good-will, and men who are sincere in their desire for the right. Yet she does not forget that her primary end in the world is not really the solution of the social problems as they arise from time to time. She maintains that she has a special mission to fulfil at all times and that to carry out that mission is the reason of her existence. That mission indeed does not have regard primarily to social problems, yet the

church must help solve social problems, and she rejoices that in this work she is able to join hands with all men who seek the amelioration of the race, and especially men who seek to protect labor and throw around it all the safeguards demanded by eternal justice itself. She ever bears in mind the injunction given of old, which history itself has only made more evident, namely, that "justice exalteth a nation and evil maketh a nation wretched." Justice is called for particularly in the social conditions of life: the justice that teaches us our duties to our neighbor; the justice that teaches us where rightful competition ends and oppression begins; the justice that makes good to man the right to happiness, to comfort, to peace, to liberty. This is what the church has contended for, and she sincerely rejoices when she can join in any movement that looks toward the moral and social welfare of the people; for her conception of patriotism itself is a patriotism founded upon the principles of unchanging righteousness. It is only those laws which take into account the moral principles that she holds, which will, as she is convinced, conserve the true relation and proportion between matters of human and of divine import, between the temporal and the eternal. Only such principles, placing the well-being of humanity in connection with an eternity, can offer a beneficent and permanent solution to social problems.

Again speaking for him whom I represent, I desire to repeat his personal appreciation of the honor that has been extended to him by the Academy, and to express his sense of gratification in the existence in this community of a body such as this Academy, whose principles and whose activities make it not only possible, but most agreeable for him and for the church that he represents, to stand with them in their devotion to those principles and in their practical application of them to the uplifting of society.

PRESIDENT LINDSAY: The great church, numbering its adherents by the millions, which the last speaker has just represented, is perhaps no more numerous than the great body of persons interested in religious work, although not members of any one church, which is represented by the next speaker,

Bishop Hendrix of Kansas City, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

BISHOP HENDRIX: It is a great delight to live in these days when our differences are being forgotten in the consciousness of our agreements. Whatever differences exist in a general way between religious bodies of different names to-day, our teamwork for the race is making us more and more unmindful of the differences and more and more delightfully conscious of the points of agreement.

When our fathers were just finishing their work of framing the constitution of our country, Edward Gibbon was completing his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. His work was to prove an object-lesson for all people, and for none more than for that greatest nation of modern times, the United States. What smote Rome to its fall? Carnal impurity and covetousness. Are we in no danger in our own land from these two evils which have smitten to the death every nation that has ever fallen? I crave for my land that every child be born in wedlock and physically fit to live: that it have the opportunities of elementary education; that it be saved from the dwarfing and degrading influence of child labor; that it have the sanctities of a home, and not the corrupting influences of a one-room tenement; that it have religious training and religious opportunity so that its moral nature shall be instructed and taught along these essential lines. I lift up my voice to-night for the protection of the youth of our land against all corruption, and I crave greater vigor on the part of the pulpit. Let us strengthen and upbuild our youth, let us cry out with fierceness against all wrong-doing until we shall hear an awakened conscience cry, "Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good." Then we shall establish and protect our youth and make possible that blessed eugenics that is to bless the nations all round the world.

PRESIDENT LINDSAY: I am in doubt whether to present the next speaker as a great religious teacher, a representative of a great church organization, or a civic leader renowned for his service in public life—Rabbi Hirsch, of Chicago.

RABBI HIRSCH: If anybody has the right to claim fellowship with a movement like this, it is the religious community of which I happen to be the representative to-night; for if one accent is struck more strongly than another by the religious proclamation held to be true by this community, it is the cry for justice. We of the liberal interpretation of the ancient Biblical literature have good ground for holding that this was the new note sounded by the ancient Hebrew prophets. They were teachers, not so much of a new theology as of a new social conscience, and what stirred their wrath was not in reality the idol-worship, but those vices and those forms of social exploitation that had received their sanction in the name of the foreign deities worshipped in the Holy Land. Justice is the note struck in the warnings, admonitions and teachings of the ancient seers of Israel; it runs through the whole of Israel's consciousness, this cry for justice, a cry most pathetic if it be remembered that they who believed in the ultimate triumph of justice were held for many a century the victims of injustice. To-day in the synagogue, wherever this is understood, the pulpit is vocal with the thunder of Sinai, because it pleads for justice and condemns injustice of whatever kind.

The great Master's word that His kingdom was not of this world has, according to our understanding of the Jewish phraseology that he must have used, been entirely misunderstood. Of course, the world by which he was surrounded was not the world of the kingdom. Neither in Rome nor in Jerusalem was justice enthroned; neither in Rome nor in Jerusalem in those days was the law understood, the law of love, the law of responsibility, the law of solidarity, that makes every man the keeper of his brother man; neither in Rome nor in Jerusalem in those days did they know that whenever man turns aside from his brother man and pleads that he is not his brother's keeper, he commits murder, as did he who uttered this insolent, impious expression as recorded in holy writ. Therefore the Master was right in saying that his kingdom was not of this world. What he meant, as we understand his words, was that the world was to be changed so as to square with the implication of the kingdom, and that is the social ambition of the synagogue, to change the world into a Kingdom of God.

What does that mean? Our religion teaches that every man is made in the image of God. Therefore it insists that no man shall be deprived, in consequence of social pressure, of the attributes involved in his being made in the likeness of the Creator. When social conditions are such that man is degraded to the level of a mere pair of hands; and when these hands are bought and sold as are the dead things in the market, at market rate, when men are subject to the law of supply and demand—then the law of solidarity of the human race is outraged and broken, and conditions are such that no man can live up to the divinity implanted in his soul by God. Man is more than a pair of hands to be bought and sold at the lowest price, or to be offered at the highest price. With the hands goes a heart, and with the heart goes love, and with the love goes much more than is compensated for in the tabulation of wage and the calculation of profit. We are all stirred to our utmost depth when the story is told of human degradation superinduced, maybe, by human avarice, or invited by human passion, and many a victim has sunk underneath the waves of the ocean of vice simply because social conditions were not such that the victim could maintain his, and in a thousand cases her, divinity. She had to sell herself for bread, not out of lust; and the civilization that allows this form of slavery, or slavery of a social or economic kind, the slavery of little children in the factories, that civilization indeed is not of the Kingdom. Our church wishes that every one coming under its influence shall strive to help build up out of social elements a Kingdom of God. Or, in other words, according to the teaching of my religion, property is not the primary but the secondary consideration. Personality, morality, character, and humanity are much more valuable than any right of property, and property has rights only when property assumes and discharges the duties that go with those rights.

Far be it from me to dispute that as long as humanity shall exist there will be differences. Some are born with the capacity for stewarding property; others are gifted in other directions. We must serve each one at a definite place, so that out of our service the well-being of society may develop. We can-

not be equal in function, though we can be equal in worth and in worthiness, and many a one who is a hewer of wood and a drawer of water is much worthier than one who commands thousands of lives and holds them to a grindstone in a factory organized merely on the principle of the least expense, with a view to the largest return to a stockholder or private owner.

Society, as we understand it, is based on this differentiation of men, but it preaches, according to my religion, the law of selection. We are elected to be what we are by God, and therefore, according to this doctrine, we are responsible to society or to God for the use we make of that which God has placed within our charge. We are not the owners of our lives, of our opportunity, we are not the proprietors of our talents, we are not the absolute controllers of our property; but we are merely stewards placed there by God, that out of our strength the weakness of others may be uplifted, and out of our abundance the hunger of others may be appeased.

There is much more gnawing hunger than even the hunger for bread, and that is hunger for righteousness. It is not true that the social question is a question of the stomach. It is not even a question of wage. It is of human dignity, of human liberty, and it is ultimately the great problem of human existence, of human solidarity. That is what my religion attempts to teach those who walk in its ways.

We have been trying to apply these truths, of course in a small degree, in the uplifting of our nearer kinfolk. We know that our own Jewish poor have perhaps no one who can understand them as the Jews can. We know their souls, for, as it is written in the Book when God enjoins upon Israel to be mindful of the needs of the stranger, "You know the soul of the stranger, for strangers you were in a land not your own." The Jew has tasted the bitter bread of exile, he has often hungered and thirsted, and no one has offered him the bread and held to his lips the water that refreshed. Therefore the Jew, knowing what he himself had to contend against, understands what the Russian Jews are pleading for; he knows what their souls have suffered and how they are warped, he realizes the dangers into which they are plunged at once by coming to this land of liberty—alas! so often the land of unrestricted license.

Two hundred fifty-six years ago the governor here in Manhattan was promised by the Jews that no Jew should become a charge upon the community. We have remembered that pledge, and it accounts for our seeming clannishness. Suppose a mother trains two children of her own to be good men and good women, does she not do as much for society as if she trained two other children not her own? The Jews that have the social consecration of their religion are doing service for this land and for humanity. The synagogue to-day preaches, if that doctrine is preached anywhere, the glad tidings of a humanity that will recognize distinctions only as stronger appeals to duty; it calls all men children of God, and it will coöperate cheerfully with every movement that looks toward breaking the shackles of slavery, be it slavery in the brothel, in the factory or in the home of luxury. Therefore I come to speak for every Jew in this country and the world when I say that the synagogue is glad to stand by the church in the great work of lifting up humanity and bringing in God's Kingdom on earth, that will not come until justice be done everywhere, and righteousness be the star that leads men on to their ultimate destiny under God's appointment.

PRESIDENT LINDSAY: We shall all agree in placing high on the list of social workers the medical missionary. Dr. Grenfell of Labrador is our next speaker.

DR. GRENFELL: I am neither theologian nor philosopher. I am a humble member of the medical profession, and I approach the subject to-night from the point of view of an individual rather than a leader of a large organization. To me there is little difference between religious and social work. As I read Christ's words, he says, "All those that are not against me are for me." The men or the women who love humanity enough to sacrifice themselves for the uplift of their fellow-men I should class as religious workers. The definitions which have served to separate the social worker and the religious worker, and to separate one kind of religious worker from another, seem to me to relate to the way in which each man receives the strength to do his work, rather than to anything else.

I have been working among deep-sea fishermen, and largely at sea, and I went among them because I wanted to try and carry to them that message of love which appealed to me, in a practical effort to make their lives better. In the hospital work in which I was engaged in London I used to see the surgeon triumphing over many difficulties, spending time and skill and money. I used to see the nurses giving untold affection to the restoration to physical health of numbers of poor folk. When I came myself to visit the houses of those people in the east end of London, I found that often enough all the good done by the worker was almost immediately undone by the same environment which had produced the original trouble. I came to the conclusion that an ordinary surgeon might do a higher work than merely to make the man with a crooked leg walk straight. It is comparatively easy in these days to do that. The really difficult problem is to make the man with a straight leg walk straight. When I found a child that I had learned to love in the children's ward going back to a home where selfishness and lust and vice deprived him of any chance of a sound physical condition, I saw that vice and sin and selfishness must be cured if the end we were aiming at was to be attained.

As to the methods of our work, we try to approach a man through his body, because we do not know any other way to approach him. We started a hospital at sea for the simple reason that otherwise an injured man when he came ashore was often beyond reach altogether. A simple fracture became a compound one. We talked to a man and said that we were sorry for him, but did nothing more. To avoid the fatal loss of time we sent our hospital out to sea.

Next I will speak of the liquor question. It was plain to me, when I came to live among fishermen, that the dangers of the sea were insignificant as compared with the dangers of the land. And I will say that to-night—yes, when you are all thinking of the present horrible disaster. I have seen more children damned and robbed through the saloons than through all the icebergs and fogs I have sailed among, and I have been at sea twenty-five years. When a man has been drowned at sea because he was drunk and you go ashore to his home and

tell his wife she is a widow and the children are fatherless, and you are awfully sorry for them, your sorrow is not worth anything. I have floated on an icy sea for twenty-four years, and I have never taken liquor. It is not necessary; one can do well without it. Therefore we considered that the next social or religious work for our men was to try and knock the liquor out. I bought four tons of tobacco in Ostend and went to sea with that, and in three months I had a tobacco flag on several vessels. The men did not go to the saloons to buy tobacco, they went to these clean vessels. It knocked the liquor vessels out.

There is no need of my dilating on the uplift to the soul that comes through a sound body. The body degenerated through any cause cannot possibly express the soul or give it a fair chance, and by the soul I mean the man. To me the man is always absolutely different from his body. We consider our hospitals and our hospital boats as simply a part of our religious and social work.

I will add but one word. On what basis is one man going to uplift another? I think he is going to lift him up on the basis of loving him. That was Christ's method, and it seems to be the right method. All power must come from faith. Love is the power of faith. It must be based on the power which Christ came to tell us about, the motive power of the world, the love of man for God, and of God for man, and of man for his fellow-man. I am glad to-day that the Catholic and the Protestant and the Jew and the medical profession can join together in feeling that we each have some place in trying to interpret to somebody who understands it best through our particular channel that divine message. I believe in the Kingdom of the Master coming from the heart. As has been said, the old interpretation of religious organization was, when one saw a wounded beggar lying by the roadside, to rush to Jerusalem and have a prayer meeting, but now we all go across the road and put the wounded man on the donkey.

PRESIDENT LINDSAY: Our next speaker is a social worker who has had the gratifying faculty of interpreting for us the

social spirit of our times, Professor Edward T. Devine, of Columbia University, Editor of *The Survey*.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University, and Editor of *The Survey*: For three days we have been walking, groping in the valley of the shadow of death. We cannot escape it. We cannot get it out of our minds. What happened there on the fog banks,¹ the story of which is now slowly creeping up the channel here, is constantly in our minds. Since we cannot get rid of it, since in that shadow the ordinary events of our lives some way change their scale of values and seem relatively unimportant, why should we not frankly speak about it? And yet, my friends, as our minds turn, whether we will or not, to that great tragedy, titanic in fact no less than in name, is it not true that the two things which we consider to-night are the things which in a dark hour like this retain their significance—religion and the social welfare? Anticipating an hour like this, religion, in the words of the psalmist that have come down to us through the ages, bids us say, “Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil.” In consideration of the social welfare, the social spirit easily pictures itself on a ship, a ship on which humanity is embarked, and the specific task of social work is to keep an eye on the lifeboats, on the riveting of the plates, on the messages that come warning us of the icebergs, and at last on the courage and the conduct of the individual in the hour when his courage meets the supreme test. Does he go down to death in sacrifice, if need be, that the weak may be saved?

We have heard much of late of the biological doctrine of eugenics. It has been referred to here in applications with which I have no quarrel; but there are those injudicious apostles of a half-assimilated idea who are teaching us a strange philosophy; who are saying to us in the name of biology that the strong should ruthlessly trample on the weak; who are saying to us that it is so desirable for the race that certain qualities should be preserved in humanity that we must see to

¹ The wreck of the *Titanic*.

it that the matings of the strong are encouraged; who are saying, on the other hand, that it is so desirable for humanity to eliminate certain qualities from the race that there should be voluntary or enforced celibacy on the part of those who have those qualities. With these last applications of the doctrine also I have no quarrel.

But there are those who go still further and say that laws for the protection of children from the evil consequence of premature employment, laws that seek to improve housing conditions, laws that seek to prevent infectious diseases, are injurious to the race because they are interfering with natural selection. There are those who say that, just as in old times war and pestilence and famine performed a beneficent function because they stamped out the weak and enabled the strong to survive, so now we have the slums and child labor and tuberculosis and typhoid and industrial accidents, and that these natural successors to war and pestilence and famine are performing the same beneficent function for society which those former agents of natural selection performed.

Is it not time that religion and social work get together to consider this strange philosophy? There are those here to-night who have authority to speak on behalf of religion, and they have spoken. Speaking quite unofficially for the social workers, whose spirit I think I know, I venture to say to those who condemn child labor laws on the ground that parents will not care for their children unless they can get their wages at nine and ten and eleven years of age, who condemn workmen's compensation on the ground that it will interfere with the beneficent working of natural selection—I say to them, "You may be right. It may be that a society that protects the weak and puts on the shoulders of the strong the burdens of society, will go down. If so, we choose to go down." A society that can survive only by trampling out the weak and giving artificial encouragement to the strong does not deserve to survive. We who have enlisted in these new crusades against tuberculosis, against unsanitary houses, against the labor of women more than fifty-four hours in a week, against the premature employment of children—we mean to see to it that compassion and fraternity shall not disappear from the earth.

That is the message, if I understand it, of social service. Is not that, Rabbi, Monsignor, Bishop, Doctor, the message also of religion? I believe that it is. I do not know for what your churches and cathedrals and synagogues have been founded and kept alive if it be not to see to it that men hear the message to do justice and to love mercy. We, too, like the eugenist, would have our weak sister, the defective girl, cared for, but we do not think that the strong argument in favor of that policy is the danger of contaminating by her strain the stream of humanity. We do not think it is the protection of society against her degeneracy that will move society to act. We think that a strong appeal lies in infinite compassion for her as an individual; we think that it is because she is to be protected against criminal assault rather than that society is to be protected against her, that people will give to her the tender care which she ought to have.

Our ship is not sinking. It will come, we hope, to the port where we fain would be. Our last word is not of sacrifice. "Thou requirest not sacrifice, else would we give it." Our last word is the rescue of the lost. Our last word is of rehabilitation, of reintegration, of redemption. Redemption is the social gospel.

PRESIDENT LINDSAY: Our next speaker is one who has appealed in a remarkable way to the strength of young men—Mr. John R. Mott, the General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, and the Associate General Secretary of the International Young Men's Christian Association.

MR. MOTT: The most critical battlefield is not the slum, nor is it the area of social injustice and neglect. Without a shadow of doubt, the most critical battlefield of our day is the universities. Any ideal or spirit which we wish to have permeate the nation must first dominate these centers of higher learning. You recall the German proverb that what you would put into the life of a nation, you must put into its schools. No movement has ever permanently triumphed which has not at one time entered the colleges and universities. These teach the teachers; these preach to the preachers; these govern the

governors. It is, therefore, not a matter of indifference but of most vital concern whether our universities and colleges are fully and constantly exposed to social influences, and whether those who determine college ideals are dominated by the social passion.

I go further and maintain that the universities and the colleges need the social movement. They need it in order to be saved. The most subtle dangers of our modern student life will not be conquered, in my judgment, without a closer relation to the processes of social advance. Some of these dangers are the dangers of growing luxury and extravagance, a tendency in not a few places to softness and an increasing love of ease and pleasure—dangers that are eating into the best life of some of our most honored institutions; dangers likewise of snobbishness, more than a remnant of the old town-and-gown spirit of the middle ages and of the last century; dangers from the cliques that have broken our college life in these days by a sharper cleavage than in any previous generation: dangers of the ultra-critical and cynical attitude; likewise some of the most subtle forms of selfishness. These tendencies are far more dangerous than the so-called forces of sin and shame. We must socialize the colleges for their salvation.

The colleges need the social movement in order that we may have the note of reality sounded out not only within them, but through them in the life of church and state. We need tasks vast enough to appeal to the imagination of the future leaders; tasks so difficult that they will call out the best energies of the minds and hearts of the students; tasks so absorbing that students will forget themselves; tasks whose tragic responsibilities will startle students from their theorizing and dreaming into reality. We need, therefore, this exposure to the social conditions of our time.

The universities need this exposure and this attitude in order also that they may fulfil the highest mission of universities. What is that? To train men not simply for personal betterment but for public service. Why are the educated persons entitled to stand in high places? *Noblesse oblige*. They need this also to call out their latent possibilities. It moves me

deeply as I travel among the universities to see there the capacities for vicariousness, for heroism, for unselfish achievement, dormant, needing to be related to social facts.

Not only do the universities need the social movement, but the social movement needs the universities if it is to achieve its principal mission. The movement for the betterment of society needs the universities in order that we may have the thinkers without whom these problems will not be solved. In what field to-day is there so great need of scientific study and investigation, of broad and constructive treatment, amid surroundings that make for unselfish detachment, as in the realm of social difficulties, and where shall we look for this training if we do not look to the universities and the colleges?

The social movement must look there likewise to find not only the thinkers, but the apostles. The church will not rise to her social mission, nor will the other great religious forces, unless we have this passion for unselfishness and heroic service seizing the colleges with greater intensity.

The social movement must have the colleges also in order that we may have entering the various influential walks of life men who are dominated by this ideal and this purpose. It is an idle dream to talk about solving these questions permanently unless we have a larger stream entering politics, medicine, the law, the ministry, to say nothing of engineering and the other callings that bring leaders near the laboring men. Men must bring to bear in the relationships of these professions the principles and practises of pure religion.

This lends significance to the Christian Student Movement, which is expanding in our universities and colleges. It is in a position to render a large service in these ways because of its numbers and personnel. It now counts nearly 150,000 students and professors throughout the world, mostly young men and young women in the vision-forming period of life, responsive ever to the highest ideals, showing their ability to work together in a mighty movement. We can expect much from it, because of the *esprit de corps* that comes from linking together the future leaders of countries such as this. We may expect much from it, because it has a method and plan of work that make possible

the bringing to bear of its ideals and spirit upon all of the influential professions at their source. We may expect much from it, because it has demonstrated its ability in the form of foreign missions to wage a triumphant propaganda. If it has been able to recruit six thousand students from the universities of North America and Great Britain within twenty-five years, who have been sent out to come to close grapple with the social problems of the non-Christian world, it is able to do much larger things in our home countries. We are not surprised, therefore, to find this movement responsive to the ideals of organizations such as that under whose auspices we are assembled to-night.

What is the movement doing in the colleges? Under its auspices are being given addresses by labor leaders and representatives of every class, bringing vividly before the studying youth in our generation the facts and forces that make for the betterment of society. It goes deeper than that because it sees we need not only knowledge, but realization in promoting the scientific study of these subjects. Thousands of students are studying the social facts through such books as *Misery and its Causes*, by Dr. Devine, and *Social Degradation and Social Reclamation*, by Malcolm Spencer of London. Hundreds of these associations are also undertaking the study of their own communities, leading the students before they enter the influential walks of life to learn how they may face these questions in a sane, practical and helpful way. Besides this—and this is important—this movement is leading the students to stand in front of the social facts and ask themselves, How far are we students responsible for these facts and what are we doing to change these facts?

The place to bring power to bear is where it can be most wisely and advantageously applied. Surely that place is the colleges. But this movement comes nearer than that. It seeks to socialize the colleges. By its democratic spirit, drawing into its membership the members of all classes and organizations, the rich and the poor, men holding different views on religious questions, fusing them together in a solid brotherhood, it is making for the socializing of the colleges. It is also doing so in

the grappling with certain of the evils. I think one of the finest things being done now is the grappling with the social evil as it is eating like a cancer into the best life of some colleges where you would least expect it. I want to resent bitterly charges that we sometimes hear about the moral condition of our colleges. I consider them among the most moral communities we have, and yet I should be superficial if I did not recognize cancer where I know it is working. This movement is to be recommended for seeking in a quiet way to socialize the colleges in this sense.

The movement is doing still more in some ways by enlisting not hundreds, but thousands, of undergraduates in social service in the college communities. You will find nearly two hundred undergraduates in Yale, engaged in such activities; and in Harvard one year three hundred sixty-seven men gave in their names as desirous of engaging in some form of social service. I could take you to Princeton, which is not so favorably situated for these activities, and yet show you groups of men going out for social service. Small colleges, like Williams and Amherst, are conducting boys' clubs in nearby places. These are but typical of how the undergraduates are being related to the social needs in their diverse aspects. We are seeking to impress upon the men as they graduate the great message of the colleges, that they shall go out as statesmen and lawyers and doctors and editors and authors and engineers, sons of the wealthy, sons of the poor, to make their influence tell on these great social questions.

A few days ago I spoke in the House of Commons to a company of members of Parliament, and we had a short discussion. A member from Scotland said, "We in Parliament now have become conscious of the power of this Christian Student Movement." If he could say that now in the infancy of this movement, what can we say a few years hence when its network of unselfishness and of helpfulness has been spread more intimately, not only over the undergraduates, but through them over the graduates who are going out to dominate society and lead the forces which make possible the solution of these problems? You remember the morning when you read in the

paper that the 203-Meter-Hill fortress had been captured. It did not require you to be a military strategist to predict that it would be only a short time before the great citadel of Port Arthur must fall. I remind you that the universities and colleges are the 203-Meter-Hill fortress of the nations.

(707)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPRING MEETING OF THE
ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE HELD IN
NEW YORK, APRIL 18 AND 19, 1912

THE spring meeting of the Academy of Political Science held in New York on April 18 and 19, 1912, dealt with Organization for Social Work. Three sessions were held at Earl Hall, Columbia University. The program was as follows:

FIRST SESSION

Thursday morning, April 18

Topic

GREATER NEW YORK'S SOCIAL NEEDS

Charitable Relief

W. Frank Persons

Housing Needs

Lawrence Veiller

Protection of Factory Workers

George M. Price

Child Labor in the Tenements and Home Work for Women

Mrs. Florence Kelley

Budgetary Provision for Social Needs

William H. Allen

Education of Mothers and the Saving of Babies

Philip Van Ingen

Discussion by James Jenkins, Jr.

SECOND SESSION

Thursday afternoon, April 18

Topic

SOCIAL SURVEYS

The Spread of the Survey Idea.

Paul U. Kellogg

(708)

The Survey of a Typical American City

Shelby M. Harrison

A Sanitary and Health Survey

George T. Palmer

The Relation of a District Neighborhood Survey to Social
Needs

Miss Pauline Goldmark

Discussion by Professor Robert Emmet Chaddock

FOURTH SESSION

Friday morning, April 19

Topic

NATIONAL SOCIAL NEEDS

Recreation and Youth

Luther H. Gulick

Next Steps in the Child-Labor Campaign

Owen R. Lovejoy

Regulation of Public Amusements

Mrs. Belle Lindner Israels

Commercialized Vice

George J. Kneeland

Discussion by Rev. Washington Gladden, Professor Henry R. Seager and Dr. Hastings H. Hart

Robert W. deForest presided at the first session, Paul U. Kellogg at the second session and Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay at the fourth session.

CONFERENCE DINNER

The semi-annual dinner was held at the Hotel Astor on Thursday evening, April 18, President Samuel McCune Lindsay presiding.

The guests of honor were Monsignor Mooney, personal representative of Cardinal Farley; Rt. Rev. Eugene Russell Hendrix, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; Rabbi

Emil G. Hirsch, Professor of Rabbinical Literature and Philosophy, University of Chicago; Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell of Labrador; Mr. John R. Mott, General Secretary of the World's Student Federation, and Professor Edward T. Devine of Columbia University.

(710)

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

The Quarterly, published for the Academy, is under the editorial control of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, and is devoted to the historical, statistical and comparative study of politics, economics and public law.

Its list of **contributors** includes university and college teachers, politicians, lawyers, journalists and business men in all parts of the United States, and European professors and publicists. It follows the most important movements of foreign politics but devotes chief attention to questions of present interest in the United States. On such questions its attitude is nonpartisan. Every article is signed; and every article, including those of the editors, expresses simply the personal view of the writer. Each issue contains careful **book reviews** by specialists, and in March and September large numbers of recent publications are characterized in brief **book notes**. In June and December is printed a valuable **record of political events** throughout the world.

Communications in reference to articles, book reviews and exchanges should be addressed to the managing editor, Professor **Munroe Smith**, Columbia University, New York City. Intending contributors are requested to retain copies of articles submitted, as the editors disclaim responsibility for the safety of manuscripts. If accompanied by stamps, articles not found available will be returned. Members of the Academy receive the Political Science Quarterly without further payment.

THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

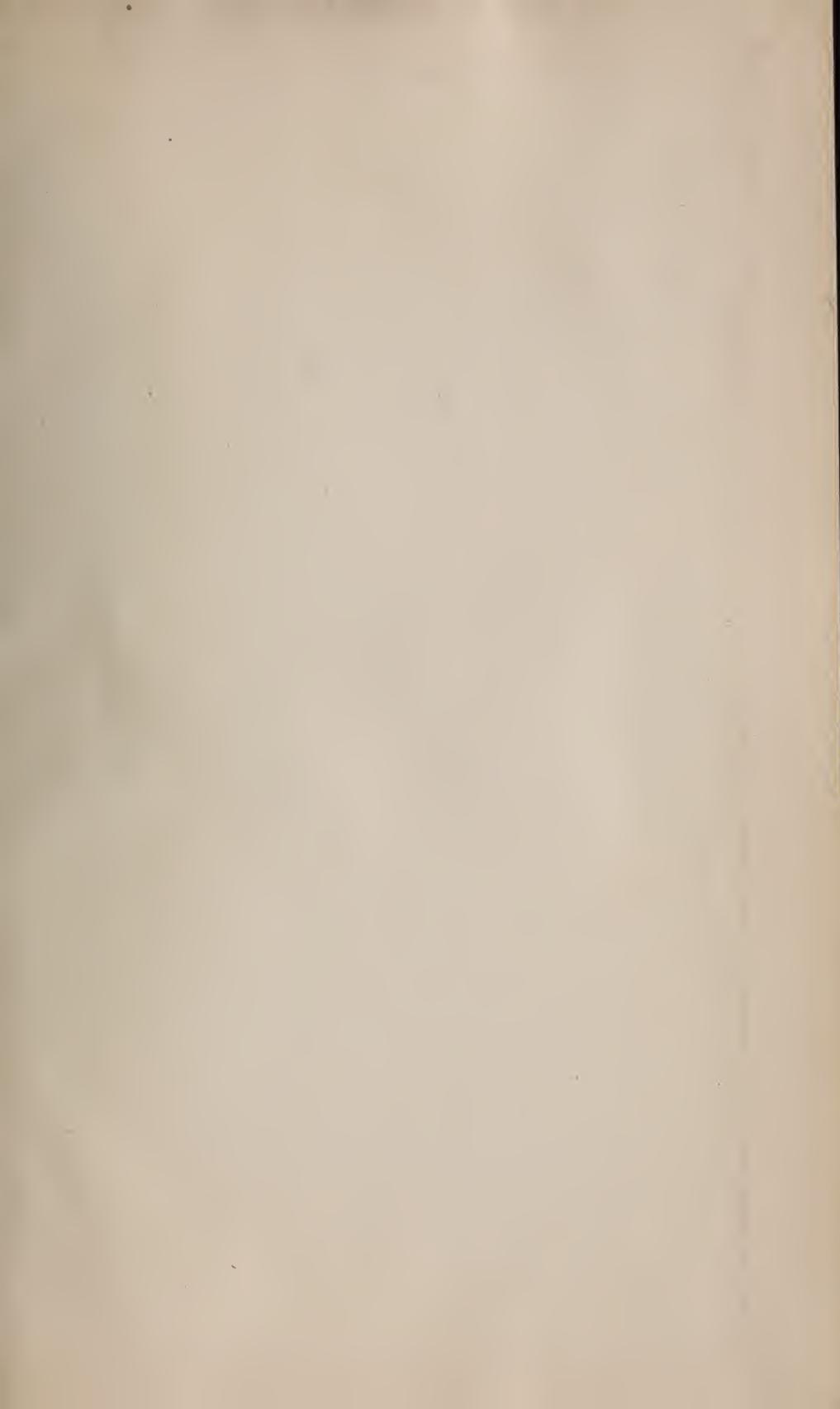
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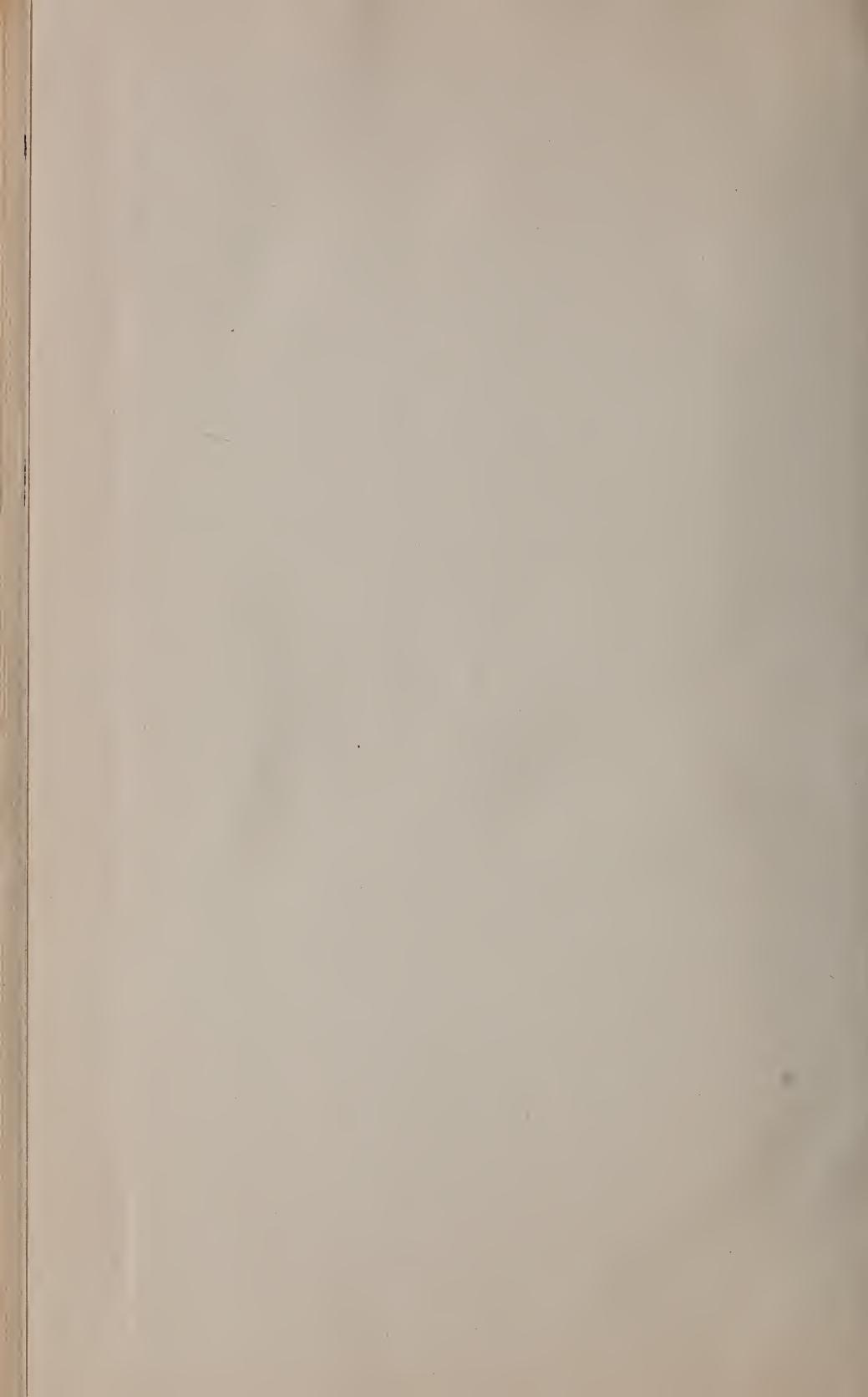
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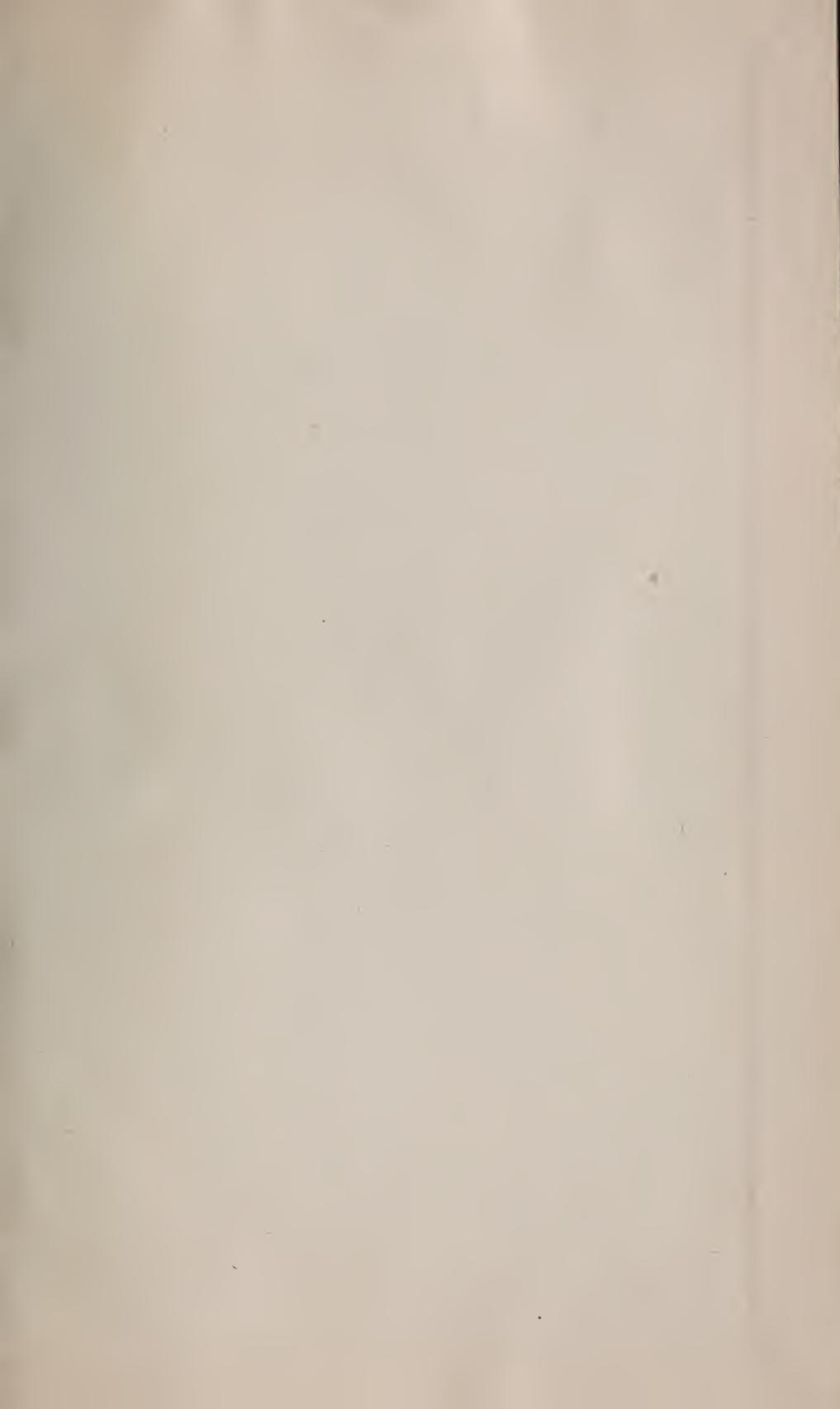
The Academy of Political Science, founded in 1880, is composed of men and women interested in political, economic and social questions. The **annual dues** are \$5. Members receive without further payment the four issues of the Political Science Quarterly and the four issues of the Proceedings, and are entitled to free admission to all meetings, lectures and receptions under the auspices of the Academy. Two regular meetings are held each year, in April and November.

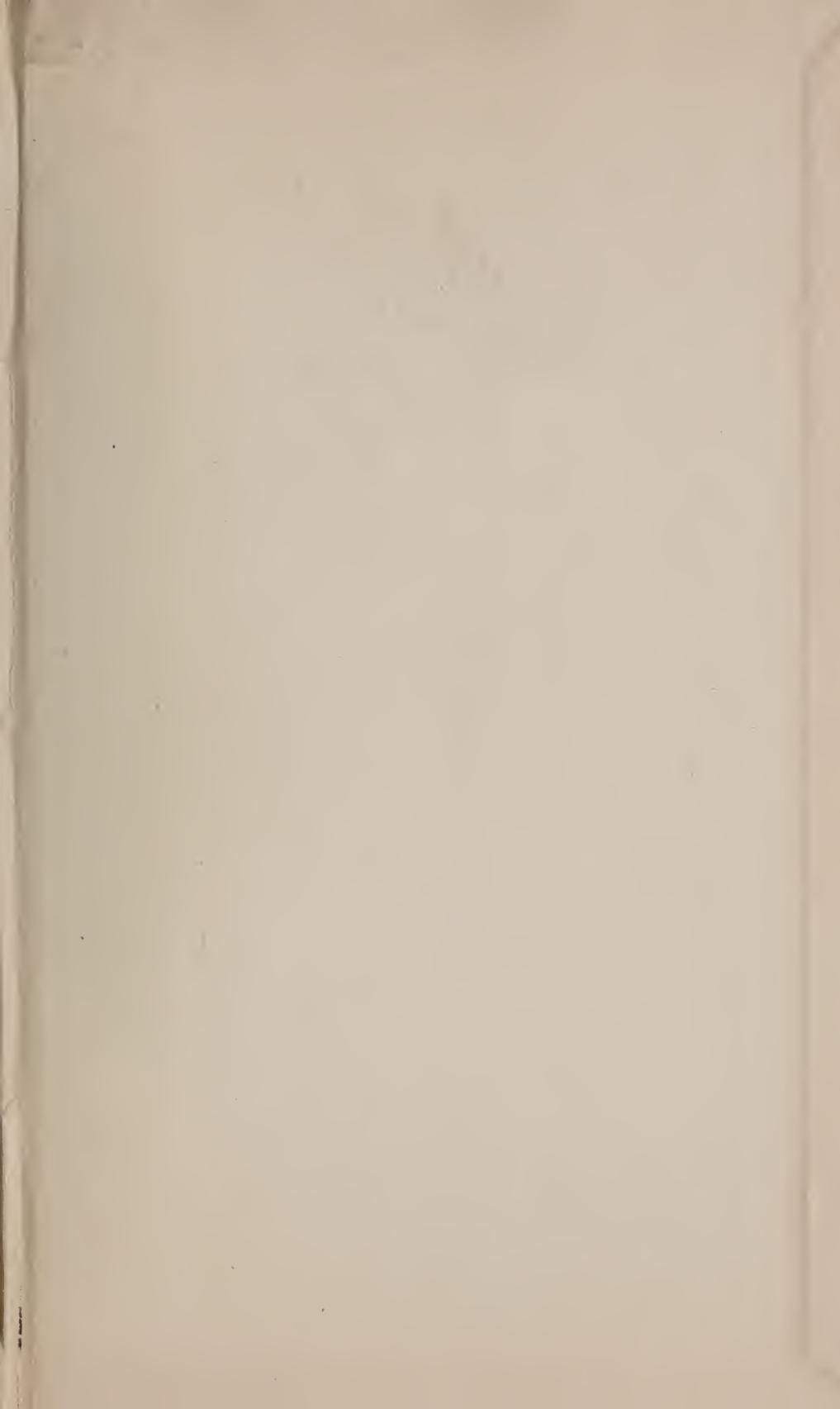
The Spring meeting of the Academy held on April 18 and 19 considered the topic, Organization for Social Work. The Proceedings are published in full in this number.

Communications regarding the Academy should be addressed to **The Secretary of the Academy of Political Science**, Columbia University.









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